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*The Fighting Magazine
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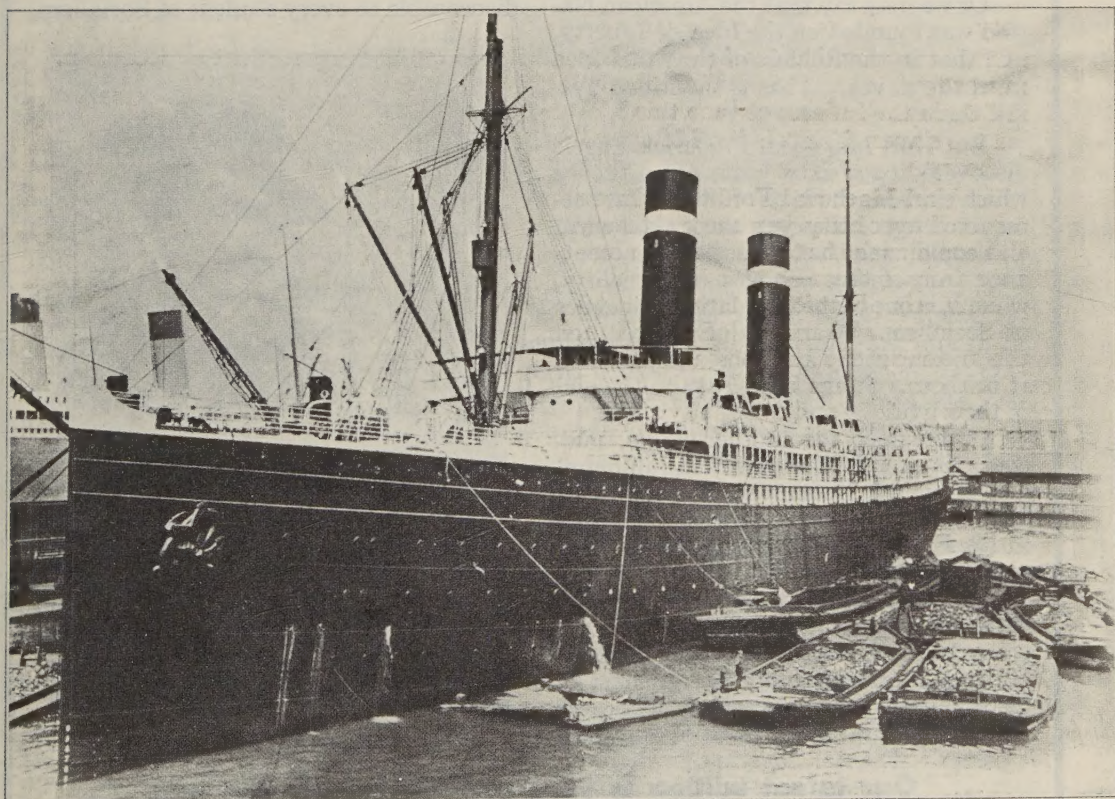


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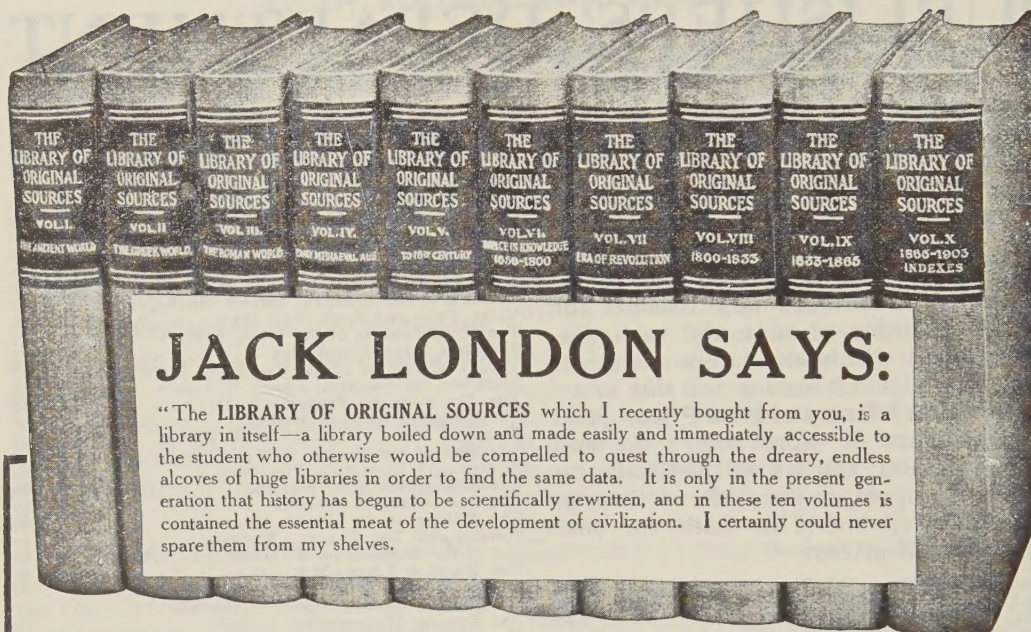
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XII.

AUGUST, 1911

No. 2

THE GREAT SEAMEN'S STRIKE

BY

E. SUMNER BOYD



Photo by Paul Thompson.

SOUTHAMPTON STRIKERS.

THE great international strike of the seamen and dockers, which began definitely on June 13 last, was fought for the following demands:

Constitution of a conciliation board.

Minimum wage scale of \$27.50 a month.

Minimum manning scale for stokehold, decks and galley.

Abolition of medical examination by Shipping Federation's contract doctor.

Payment of portion of round trip wage at port of call.

Representation for the union at signing on of men.

Fixed hours of labor with payment of overtime when this scale is exceeded.

Improved accommodations, better food.

The strike was no spasmodic outbreak of unorganized men, or of men in different unions who failed to act together. It involved during its course practically every sea-going worker on the ships, from able seamen to firemen and engineers; and with them struck the great army of dockers in the principal ports. Other workers struck at different points in sympathy.

Plans for the strike had been considered more than a year ahead. In January of this year the "Committee of the International Strike Movement" issued a statement of its activities for months back. It was reported that since June 8, 1910, some 400 meetings had been held in every port in Great Britain, and that a total of over 80,000 seamen had attended. At each meeting a resolution, declaring that a general strike was the only means of securing their demands was carried unanimously. Preparations for the strike went on in every country, and the date of the strike had been definitely fixed but was to remain a secret.

Great camping grounds had been prepared for the reception of the strikers, so that none of them, when leaving their ships, would find themselves without shelter or food. A call was, at the same time, made for every man to pay a special levy of \$5 within three months.

The total number of seagoing workers employed by the British mercantile marine is over 275,000 of all nationalities. The death rate from accidents during the last ten years varies from 6.40 to 4.11 per 1,000, while the death rate in the British coal mines per thousand, during the same period, varies from 1.30 to 1.32. The difference is therefore over 500 per cent against the sailor.

Perhaps of all workers the sailor, until this strike, was the worst off. At sea he lives under an autocracy that is far more absolute than any Romanoff can hope to realize. He is crushed beneath the weight of authority, that descends from the ship captain through every grade of officer or mate down to the lowest rank above his own. To resist or defy any order, no matter how brutal or unreasonable, is to invite imprisonment in irons and the most degrading form of corporal punishment. On landing he is handed over to the

authorities, charged with mutiny, and England's laws on this point are among the most barbarous in the world.

The first of the men's demands, for a Conciliation Board, had been made long before to the Shipping Federation, and had been treated with absolute contempt, as, indeed, had all other demands; and this is scarcely to be wondered at when it is remembered that for a quarter of a century the owners have been in a position to treat the men as they please.

A minimum wage scale of \$27.50 a month formed the second demand. Before the strike the average wage was \$22.50 a month, often being as low as \$16.00. The men work, on the average, only eight months out of the twelve, which means a "wage" of \$15.00 a month all the year round. The wage often, of course, fell far below this figure. Asked to give increased rates of pay, the Shipping Federation absolutely refused.

The third demand, for a minimum manning scale, speaks for itself. On British ships the hours are supposed to be, for the men on deck, 12; for the firemen, 8, in two shifts of 4 hours each, and for seamen in port a working day of 9 hours. Scarcely a ship leaves port with its full complement of men, with the result that these hours are almost invariably longer, frequently meaning a spell of eighteen to twenty hours without a break. Such conditions mean a speedy death or a ruined body and shattered nervous system.

The contract doctor, appointed by the Shipping Federation, for medical examination of the men, has formed one of the most hateful features in the seamen's life. The examination is such, the seamen declare, that no self-respecting man would submit to it. But, apart from its physical side, it is used as a subterfuge by the owners to weed out "undesirable" men. If the owner happens to dislike a man for any reason, he is turned down by the physician. Or if a man is known to have union tendencies he is turned down on this account whenever he is detected. The net result is that the "medical examination" is merely a means of keeping out militant workers.

The demand for the payment of a portion of the round trip wage at port of call also speaks for itself. Taken in conjunc-

tion with the next demand, for the representation of the Union at the signing on of the men, it brings up the question of some of the most iniquitous practices known.

When a seaman signs on he often does so under the kind auspices of the "crimp," whose official name is the Marine Employment Agent. This creature has always an agreement with the ship owners by which every difficulty is put in the way of a seaman getting a job save through the crimp. Under the control of the crimp are the lodging houses, in which the men are charged exorbitant prices for everything, are often doped and robbed, and in a few days find themselves destitute.

The men thus find themselves at the mercy of the crimp, who, acting apparently for the lodging house keeper, are forced to sign away practically the whole of their wages as payment for his debts. The plunder is then shared between the crimp, the owner or the ship captain, and the scoundrel who keeps the lodging house. The law does not permit the whole of the money due to be thus signed away, but what is left is negligible.

But, paltry as the remaining sum is, the seaman cannot get any of it until the end of the round trip. There are two reasons for this.

In the first place, the conditions of life aboard are so intolerable as a rule that a man is only too anxious to get ashore for a respite. Under present conditions he would naturally do this had he the means of procuring food, but this arrangement takes away that means, and he is an absolute prisoner.

On the other hand, there is a creature on the seas known as the "bunco mate." His function is to save money for the owners, and he does it by "manhandling" the men. That is, he beats them up with any weapon his fancy dictates, reducing them to a condition of shivering terror. If they retaliate they are thrashed and jailed for mutiny, and are imprisoned when they get ashore. This treatment is calculated to make the men desert just before they reach the port that finishes the round trip, and the money due to them is thus forfeited to the owner.

The demand for pay for overtime

would, with the practice of undermanning a ship, mean a very fair addition to the "wage" paid; but the overtime would be exceptional were the full number of men taken on.

The demand for improved fore-castle accommodation and better food is another item that cries aloud. Many people are under the impression that life at sea is healthy. They make a mistake.

The food which the owners serve to the men is almost invariably of the lowest quality possible. It is often absolutely foul; so bad is it, indeed, that a large proportion of seamen become physical wrecks within a few years. Their teeth drop out, and they contract scurvy and beri-beri and other diseases, with the result that almost every seaman is afflicted with some form of stomach trouble.

From the foregoing, it will surprise no one that the seaman's quarters are frequently filthy, and, almost without exception, lack adequate ventilation and sanitary arrangements. The men eat and sleep and prepare their food in the fore-castle. It is always overcrowded, and intensely close and filled with bad air. The quarters are seldom cleaned or fumigated.

As a result tuberculosis finds a field to play in as fruitful as any slum, and the men are subjected to its frightful ravages.

Against such conditions as these, and to secure the demands stated, the National Sailor's and Firemen's Union of Great Britain declared a strike a few days before the coronation of George V. The date was well chosen, for every vessel, from the great liner to the little tramp, was in commission. Moreover, the enormous amount of wealth squandered at the coronation could not fail to add an edge of immediate bitterness to the fight, and it did.

The men at Liverpool, Southampton, Bristol, the Tyne and Clyde rivers, went out on June 14, the strike signal being given by the unfurling of flags or the firing of rockets. The seamen at Amsterdam and Antwerp, Holland, also went out at the same time.

The most strenuous efforts had been made to make the strike international in scope. But the German owners, as well as the Scandinavian and Danish, prompt-

ly granted some concessions to their men, who did not participate.

On this side of the water there is, up to the time of writing, still a very great uncertainty about what happened. On June 16 the Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union instructed its officers to give the Southern Pacific Steamship Company—the Morgan line—until 10 o'clock the next morning to grant their demands. After a thirty hours' delay the *Momus* of the Morgan line got away with a crew of strikebreakers, and on June 19 a general strike notice was served on all coastwise steamship lines unless the Morgan and other ship owners came to terms on the 20th.

After that something happened. The men were informed that an "agreement" had been reached; but no one yet knows the nature of the agreement. The New York Call took up the matter charging the officers with having betrayed the men. No answer was given denying the charges, other than a condemnation of the Call, and to this moment what happened is a matter that apparently concerns only the Union officers and the ship owners.

Meanwhile the strike in England proceeded apace under the direction of J. Havelock Wilson, president of the Union, and Tom Mann, vice-president. The latter was one of the leaders in the gigantic dockers strike in London some 16 years ago. Tom is a strong industrial unionist and the solidarity shown by the men is partly due to his splendid efforts for class unionism.

At Liverpool, when the owners saw that the men were in earnest, the Cunard, Booth, Holt and Elder-Demster lines agreed to receive deputations from the strikers. Up to that moment the owners had refused to recognize the existence of a seamen's organization, and had refused absolutely to discuss conditions.

The Government, at the same time, began to take alarm, lest the strike should spread. They did not want a tremendous labor war during the Coronation festivities, and they dreaded what would happen if a settlement were not speedily reached.

England is entirely dependent upon imported food stuffs for the support of her people. At any time there is only suffi-

cient food in the country to last for five weeks, and any stoppage of its entry would mean an immediate increase in prices, and would threaten the entire country with famine and perhaps financial ruin.

The Government, therefore, brought pressure to bear upon the ship owners to make concessions.

At all the great ports the seamen left the liners as soon as they reached port. The ships engaged in handling food supplies arrived in port, the men left them, and joined the strike. The White Star line's newest ship, the *Olympic*, managed to get away from Southampton, carrying 1,300 passengers, only when the owners had granted the demands of the men.

Within one week the strike was general. Every ship as it reached port lost its crew. At Hull, Liverpool, London, Bristol, Cardiff, Belfast, Dublin, Goole, Glasgow, Southampton, every ship was deserted by its crew, and lay idle.

Then the strike spread from the seamen to the shore workers. During the progress of the war the seamen received assistance by strikes from scalers, painters, dockers, coal porters, transport workers, flour millers, railroad men, and in one or two places even the laundry workers went out in sympathy.

Every shipping line was tied up. All the coasting vessels were held, and in addition the boats of the White Star, the Union Castle, Canadian Pacific, Allan, Booth, Harrison, Cunard, Royal Mail Steam Packet, Dominion, Leyland, Anchor, Donaldson, Wilson, and Pacific, as well as other equally important lines were tied up.

Liverpool and Hull were the great storm centers. At Liverpool the White Star line conceded increased pay to the men on one or two ships which they wanted to move. But the trick failed, the men demanding complete surrender on all points, which was absolutely refused. The dockers took the occasion, in sympathetic strike involving 10,000 men, to demand increased pay.

At Hull, on June 22, the day of the Coronation in London, the strikers organized a counter procession, when they marched beneath their great union banners and red flags draped with crepe. Ef

forts were made to stop the demonstration by the Home Office acting through the mayor, but the efforts failed. Thus, while George was being crowned, England was torn asunder and threatened with starvation by one of the greatest labor wars she has ever experienced.

On June 24th the owners of boats engaged in the coasting trades refused all the men's demands, and this brought every docker out.

As usual in every strike, the organized forces of the state were put in motion against the men. At two ports—Liverpool and Goole—the crews of two ships that came out on strike were placed under arrest, charged with desertion. They were taken to the magistrate, who ordered them to be taken back to their ships. In other words, the effort was made to make the men nothing but chattel slaves, and this is possible by reason of the law regarding seamen and their contracts.

Strikebreakers, in the meanwhile, were very difficult to obtain. At Hull fifty Chinese were rushed by special train from London, taken in motor cars to the ship waiting for a crew, and made to serve. Few of them could speak English, so that this was an open breach of the law that makes it necessary to have at least 75 per cent of a ship's crew able to understand orders given.

This use of non-English speaking scabs was resorted to several times in the course of the strike, until J. Havelock Wilson took up the matter with the Board of Trade and had it raised in Parliament. By that time public opinion was dead against the owners, who thereafter found it more difficult openly to violate the law in this regard, although it continued in many instances with the connivance of the authorities.

On June 25th the Shipping Federation refused to concede any of the men's demands, and negotiations ceased. The White Star line, indeed, went so far as to declare a lockout on their ships, and proclaimed the open shop. This, however, was a bluff, which the men called.

By June 26th the harbor at Hull was filled with cargo boats. Their cargoes were untouched, and the foodstuffs were rotting in the holds. Meetings of pro-

vision dealers all over the country were called, at which the gravity of the situation was put on record, and at almost every meeting the owners were censured.

At several ports efforts were made to use clerks to move cargoes, but they made poor substitutes for men, and were often in trouble with the strikers. The Hull owners even resorted to women for this work, but the police ordered this stopped, fearing a situation would arise that they could not handle. Special police, in the meantime, had been drafted into the city from London, York, Sheffield, and Birmingham, and a day or two later were followed by regiments of infantry and cavalry.

By June 29th the Shipping Federation had come off its high horse so far as to enter into negotiations with the strikers, and a meeting was held in Hull between the men's representatives and the owners, with G. R. Askwith presiding.

At the conclusion of the conference a great meeting of 20,000 strikers assembled to hear the result, which consisted in five points:

1. Men not to be compelled to have Federation or Free Labor tickets.
2. Freedom for the men to return to their work.
3. Dock workers to have a half holiday on Saturday.
4. Sailors and firemen to have a half holiday during the week.
5. Sailors' and firemen's wages to be 32s6d per week, an advance of 2s6d.

At the conclusion of the reading of these magnificent terms a murmur of discontent arose near the platform and spread into a vast roar of anger from the entire 20,000 men.

J. R. Bell, the Seamen's organizer, said, "In your hands lies the decision." He was greeted with fierce cries of "No! no! we'll starve first!" "Go back to the employers!" O'Connor Kessack, the leader of the men at Goole, tried to bully the men into accepting the terms, but one old seaman, with body bent from years of toil and suffering, cried, "We won't take the terms!" The cry was taken up by the crowd, and not one hand was held up in favor of accepting.

The same day that this scene was enacted at Hull, Liverpool witnessed a

splendid exhibition of working class solidarity. Several of the great lines had granted the men's demands, and many crews were fully signed up. Then a movement started among the victorious men, which ended in every man again leaving the ships until the demands of the dockers who had gone out with them were conceded. This was the policy pursued at practically every port, and enormously increased the strength of the men.

Food prices, meantime, had advanced 25 per cent. The strikers were appealed to in the hope of getting them to allow sufficient food to be landed to prevent further rises. But the men unanimously refused, saying that in a time of war it was good tactics to starve out the enemy. They then went more determinedly than ever to work to tie up every cargo boat that arrived with provisions, and they succeeded.

By July 1, twenty-four of the ship own-

ers had conceded all the demands made upon them. On the following day, July 2, the owners in the Shipping Federation, beaten to a standstill, granted all the demands of the men.

How complete the victory of the men has been, and how keenly they appreciate their power, is shown by the fact that when twenty-four hours after the signing of the agreement with the Canadian Pacific line, the company broke its terms, the men went out in a body, and refused to return until the owners once again came to earth.

The lesson of the strike is obvious. In the hands of the workers lies all power, provided they act together. That the complete surrender of the owners would not have been secured had not every section of the men engaged in shipping come out there is no room for doubt. But, having come out together, they were irresistible.



IN AUGUST

BY

LEON R. WHIPPLE

AW Gawd it's hot! I'd like to take a rest,
An' see them big white rain-clouds a bubblin' in the
West;

There ain't no breeze—the street's a blindin' glare
That keeps a-pumpin' heat into the air
Until it hits you every time you move
Like as if you stuck your face into a stove.
But it's work, work, work, don't mind the heat 'r pain—
Aw Gawd, it's hot! I wish to Hell 'twould rain!

It's hot an' hot an' hot this afternoon,
An' six o'clock can't hustle roun' too soon.
I wonder when I croak will I be cool,
An' at that wind-up quittin' time—aw, cut it out, y' fool!
I guess I'm gettin' crazy—good excuse,
Say, tell me straight—no mission talk—now what'n Hell the
use?

An' ain't that river peaceful down on Main?
Aw Gawd, it's hot! I wish to Hell 'twould rain!

This sleepin' on the sidewalk makes me sore,
Just pantin' dead without no healthy snore—
An' rollin' through the night that's worse'n day
Until the sun shines up, a red-hot grey,
Alightin' all the gutters filled with kids;
An' sewers stinkin' if they lift their lids.
Gee, Christ, and' ain't my old man's bones all plain?
Aw Gawd, it's hot! I wish to Hell 'twould rain!

Out 'mong the swells they're livin' easy now;
Where their coin comes from, they don't know, nor how.
They're dressin' thin or sportin' in the cool,
A-leavin' me to work, a sweatin' fool.
We do the work, why don't they ever say,
Come down to Sixt' street on an August day?
I ain't no Anarchist, but can you explain—
Aw Gawd, it's hot! I wish to Hell 'twould rain!

THE CLASS WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE GROWTH AND OUTCOME OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

BY
ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD



STREET SCENE—JOHANNESBURG.

NO country has, for the past thirty years, been more subject to Capitalist domination than South Africa, nor has a single country been so free from strikes.

About four years ago the miners on the Rand gold mining area were the victims of South Africa's first strike. About two years later the workers employed on the Government owned railroads of Natal conducted a short but futile struggle against their tyrant masters—the people's government! Six months ago the Street Car men in South Africa's greatest city scored the first victory for the working class and but a few weeks ago, Capital avenged itself most ruthlessly on the vic-

tors. The story of these strikes is the story of Industrial Unionism in South Africa, its growth and outcome.

There are two chief characters running through this tale and both are Irish. It is surprising that this should be so, for the forceful membership and officialdom of revolutionary working class activity in South Africa is composed for the most part of Scotch and to a lesser extent of Germans and Jews. Chance has however brought these two—a son and daughter of the Emerald isle—before the limelight.

Mary Fitzgerald was born twenty-eight years ago, came to South Africa at the age of sixteen and married two years

later. A rebel from birth, she refused to sacrifice her economic independence, so she has continued to play on the keyboard of a typewriter. About eight years ago the Transvaal Miners' Association decided to employ a typist and stenographer and Mrs. Fitzgerald secured the position. It was quite an open secret that a woman's was the most powerful influence on the conduct of the Miner's Union. She, more than the membership, determined the appointment of officers and organizers, a fact which led a clever schemer and candidate for the general secretaryship of the Union to offer her a large bribe for her support and connivance to secure his election to office. The exposé saved organized labor from a designing scoundrel, and earned for Mrs. Fitzgerald the thanks in tangible form, of the Union. Throughout the strike period Mrs. Fitzgerald served the Union and after seven years' service, resigned to assume business control of the "Voice of Labor," South Africa's national working class paper and organ of the S. A. Socialist Party and the I. W. W.

Comrade and Fellow-worker T. Glynn is quite a recent addition to our ranks. About two years ago, a tall slim fellow of modest and retiring disposition, wearing a motorman's uniform, would sit in some obscure corner of the Socialist Hall listening eagerly to the speeches and debates. Only when some "faker" would propound a fallacy calculated to miseducate and mislead the working class would he stir. Then, a small red spot would show itself on his otherwise pale face. As the lying talk of the politician proceeded the red spot would grow larger until it overspread his whole features and seemed to dye the roots of his hair. A logical outcome would appear to be a belching outburst of flame, a sort of human volcano. Suddenly as if a bomb were exploded underneath his seat, the quiet obscure motorman would straighten up his towering frame, forcibly and with lightning rapidity express himself, astonish everyone, transform the complexion of the falsifier to a ghastly pallor, and having had his say, as suddenly sit down. Here, thought I, is a true rebel if ever there was one. I sought his company, harnessed his modest but able pen to the cause and left him a chief pillar and sup-



MARY FITZGERALD.

port of the "Voice" during my absence. But to return to my story.

THE MINERS' STRIKE.

Great capital came to South Africa thirty years ago for the purpose of robbing the prospectors and individual miners of their titles to gold mining claims on an area known as the "Witwatersrand," situated in the Transvaal, in the heart of British South Africa. The prodigious value of these claims may be gathered from the fact that right now almost one half of all the gold produced in the whole world, comes out of an area of fifty or sixty square miles within the "Rand." To provide the most economical means of production the Capitalists in 1895, through Dr. (now Sir Leander Starr) Jamieson attempted by bloody revolution to overthrow constitutional authority as manifest in Boer rule. This proving futile, the Boer war was carefully planned. In the interests of Capitalism the veldt was strewn with the corpses of luckless innocents between whom no real quarrel existed, and for three years the rivers of South Africa ran crimson with their hearts' blood. The war over, the fashionable clubs of London, Paris and Berlin poured out a gang of financiers and feather-bed fighters who stepped in to rule the country for which they had neither fought nor sacrificed and the soldiers returned to their homes to starve. Hordes of yellow laborers were imported from



A MACHINE DRILL AT WORK.

China to work for one-tenth the white man's wage and an attack upon the wages of such white man as were employed in the hazardous occupation of mining was planned.

Originally one white man manipulated one rock drill and was provided with a Kaffir or Chinese helper, or one white man supervised the work of sixteen hammer boys (i. e. Kaffirs who did hand drilling). Of the total labor employed underground the proportion of colored to white was originally about nine to one. Of the six or seven thousand miners employed about two-thirds undertook contracts to break so much ground at a certain price per fathom, from which was deducted the cost of dynamite, candles, colored labor, etc., supplied by the mine management.

First, a machineman was asked to take an extra rock-drill and an extra hammer-boy was added to the gang of hand drillers. The white contractors were pleased. With increased colored labor to exploit, their monthly checks grew in size. More machines were handed them and sometimes asked for until — Well, let's print a few extracts from the report of the "Mining Industry Commission" which was sitting about this time.

Paragraph 238. Mr. Hoffman, Consulting Engineer to Messrs. A. Goertz & Co. said:

"My idea is to cut down the number of white miners, and there won't be the need for as many miners for one thing."

Paragraph 243. Mr. Thos. Mathews, Secretary Miners' Union, said:

"One white man should only run one machine . . . and two unskilled colored laborers" (to assist).

Paragraph 268. Sub-Committee No. 2 of the Chamber of Mines, General Committee in their evidence, say:

"In some cases where mechanical appliances have been introduced we find them erected and run entirely by natives, and so satisfactorily as to obviate the extended employment of white labor on economic grounds."

Paragraph 269. Mr. Way, Consulting Engineer to the E. R. P. Mines, said:

"The trouble with the mines is that underground the white labor so-called is not labor at all, it is merely supervision."

Paragraph 270. Mr. Peterson, Mine Manager, said:

"We have some Kaffirs who are better machine men than many of the white men."

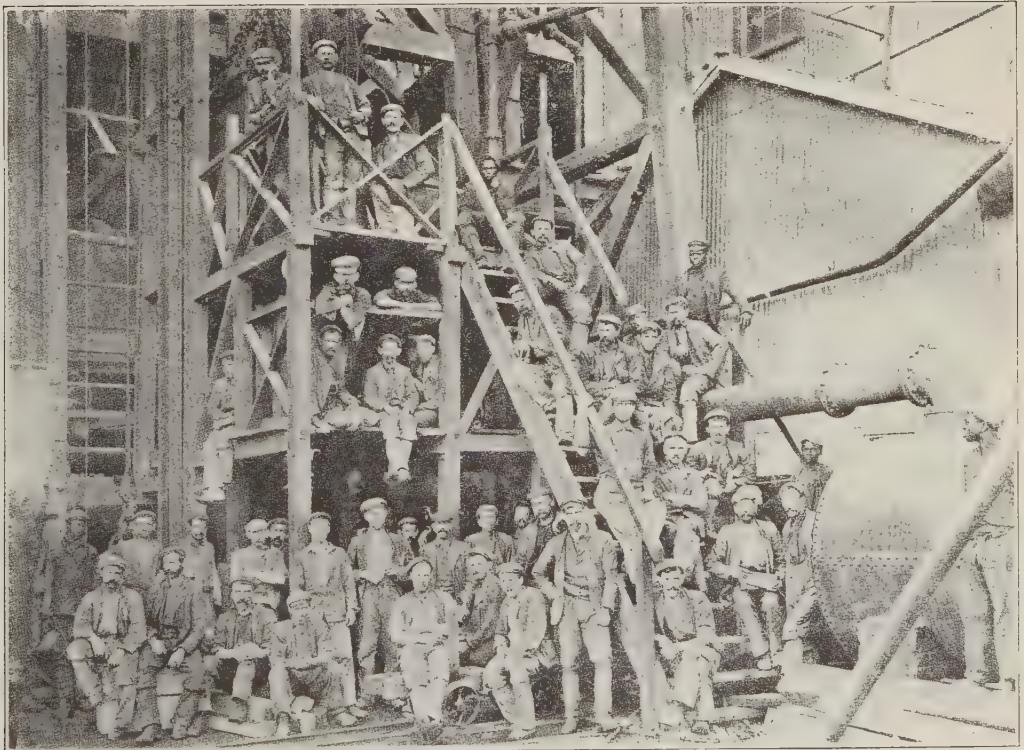
But what's the use of going on? The newspapers at the time were full of it. In their greed to make a few extra dollars the miners had "cut their own throats" by teaching the colored man how to do the work and himself became a mere supervisor—a *parasite*!



NATIVES HAND DRILLING.



MINE BOYS.



MINERS GOING ON SHIFT.

And when the aim of the Capitalist was discovered these workingmen who were not *really* workingmen demanded a return to old times. "One man—one machine!" was their slogan. By this time from six to eight machines per white man was common and the refusal of a miner on the "Knight's Deep" to take another still, started the strike.

Out of the mines poured the miners—no, not the miners, merely the supervisors. The black and yellow men were the real miners but the superior white men did not recognize anything human that was not white. So the co-operation of the colored worker was never sought. To suggest such a thing, if such a strange idea should occur to anyone, would have caused the listeners to shove the suggestion back and down the throat of the suggester.

And so the mines worked merrily on as usual!

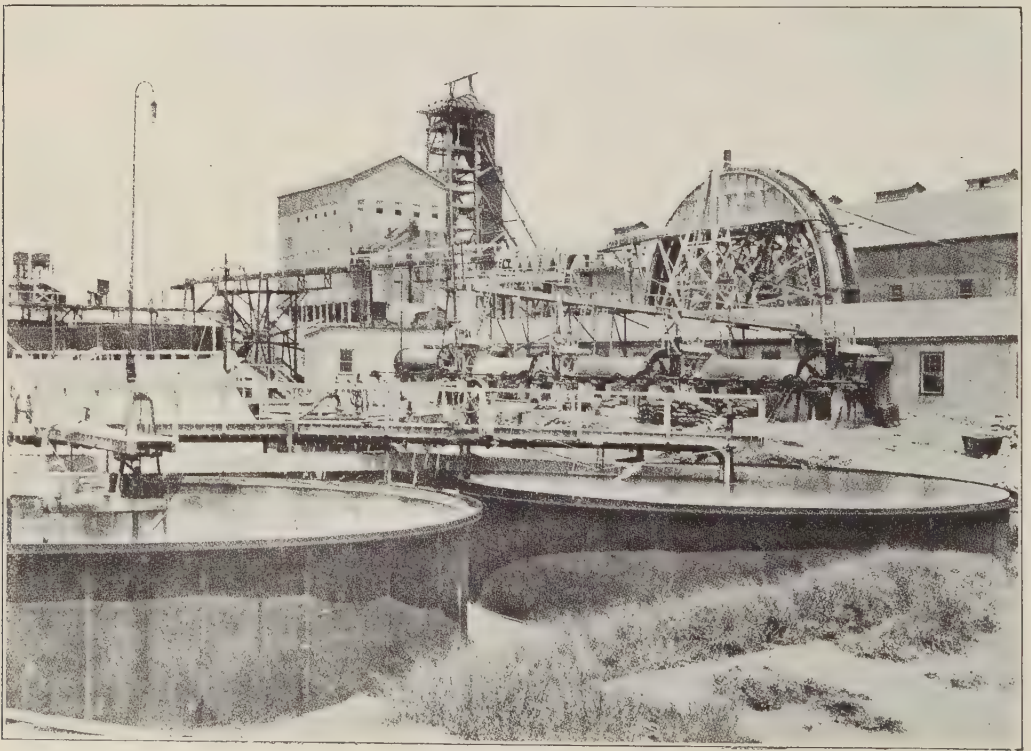
But there existed a gleam of hope in another direction. The hoisting engineers had the strongest union on the Rand. Almost every man who handled

a throttle valve was a member. Besides, a law of the land provided that only certain certificated men could hoist a mine cage or skip. To their fellow unionist the miners turned—in vain! With their union cards in their pockets, their hands on the levers and eyes on the indicators of their engines, the engineers stuck loyally by their bosses—the oppressors and humiliators of their fellow union miners.

And after three months of starvation and suffering on the part of men, women and children, the miners who were permitted, crawled back to work humiliated, defeated and disgraced.

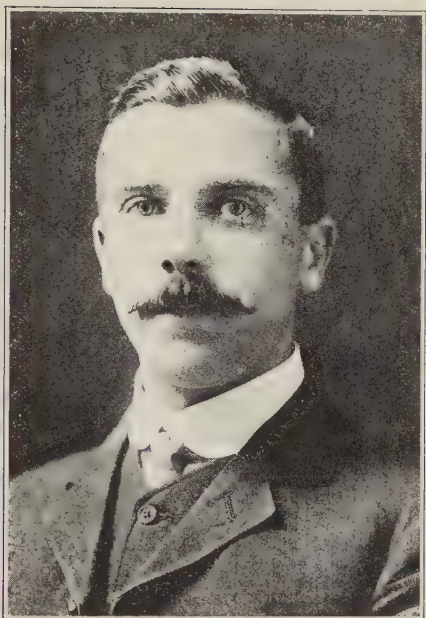
THE STREET CAR STRIKE.

The lesson of the miners' strike was appreciated by intelligent workingmen. The inauguration of an Industrial Union movement in America turned enquiring and anxious minds in that direction. The idea and tactics of Industrial Unionism became slightly understood. First, I founded the "General Workers' Union" with the Johannesburg Street Car men as its earliest members, but the antagonism of the Trade's Hall and the strangeness of



VILLAGE MAIN REEF GOLD MINE.

ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD



J. DAVIDSON,
First General Secretary, I. W. W., South Africa.

the idea resulted in its flickering life giving out. Tom Mann, imbued with the Industrial Union sentiment drawn chiefly from the "Int. Soc. Review" but perverted to gain the support of existing craft unions, visited the Rand under Trades Council auspices. The latter formed an "Industrial Workers Union" composed of unorganized workers for whom no union already existed. The Trades Council hoped to exploit this economic organization at the impending Union Parliamentary Elections. Glynn, however, Jim Davidson, Dunbar, (leader Natal Railway strike) and a number of other industrialists captured the organization and put it on a proper basis. The Trades Council would now have destroyed it but a few strong men—than whom no stronger are known to the world movement—stuck to the new Union. An opportunity was soon to come to prove the mettle of these men and the value of their tactics.

Twice the street men had organized and twice had the Municipal Council broken up their organization. The men were generally regarded as a weak-kneed lot and Peach, an inspector, played the very devil amongst them, making a veritable hell of their lives. The temporary removal of Peach to another department

permitted the Street Car men to gain a measure of joy in their toil but an indication of his early return to his old job cast a gloom over the service and suggested the idea of revolt.

Glynn became transformed into a fiery volcano with contagious effect. He convened a meeting of the men and a letter was forwarded to the Municipal Street Car Committee protesting against the return to the service of the obnoxious Peach.

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" "Hot air." "Ain't we got a law to fix them?" and such like were the ejaculations of the committee, which in its simpleness believed that the Industrial Disputes Act, which made striking illegal, also unmade men, transformed them into jellyfish. "Turn the letter down" was the unanimous chorus.

At 1 a. m. one Saturday morning, the Street Car men met to consider their grievance. Labor politicians, members of parliament and prospective M. P.'s, with ambitious gleams in their eyes and votes in their hearts, crowded round with advice. A petit-bourgeois, Mr. F. H. P. Cresswell, M. P., rose to speak. "Peace, legality and compromise" was immediately manifest as his text. Suddenly all eyes became turned on Glynn as they might



ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD,
Editor "Voice of Labor," South Africa.

turn to a sudden glare on a dark night. In his characteristic manner he had jumped up. Said he: "If there are to be any Trades Hall scabs in this business I'm out of it. Choose between them and me." The significance of the words "Trades Hall scabs" was scarcely understood by the Street Car men, but true to their class instinct they choose Glynn.

A peculiar quiet pervaded the whole town that Saturday morning. Thousands of suburbans waiting at distant places for their accustomed car quickly learned the reason. They also learned—as they trudged in the sweltering heat towards town—to swear. Shop assistants and clerks, etc., arriving late at work, affected the pocket and thence the brain of business men. At 10 a. m., the Chamber of Commerce met and drew up recommendations for the settlement of the strike. The men should return to work and enquiry should be held. "We want no enquiry" said the men "we want the unqualified removal of Peach from the Street Car service and for all time."

On the scene poured the city fathers, "We will have you arrested" said they. "We have anticipated that" said Glynn. "You can start with me and my place will be filled in regular order until we are all in jail and who will then run your cars?" And the perplexed city councillors finding threats unavailing, were dumbfounded. Here was a new and strange set of conditions to which they were unaccustomed.

At 11 a. m., in order to accelerate the end, Glynn and a small committee approached the workers in the Electric Light & Power Dept. "Fellow Workers," said they, "we are in trouble and it is your concern, as your trouble is, and will always be, ours. Help us today in our need. Tomorrow we will help you."

And the boiler firemen answered, "Unless the strike is settled in your favor by 1 p. m., we will draw the boiler fires."

"We will shut the engines down," added the locomotive engineers.

"We will turn the switches off," said the switchmen. And the city fathers were notified accordingly.

And being mostly drapers and merchants, possessed of spacious warehouses in town and palatial dwellings in the fash-

ionable suburb of Parktown, they, thus, in pain, soliloquized.

"Without lights we can do no business tonight. From 6 p. m. to 9 p. m. it is dark. On Saturdays between these hours we do all our trade, for then, the miners and their wives pour into town from distant parts of the reef. Our homes, too, are in a distant and lonely suburb and it is we, and not the common herd, who attract the burglar. Our costly embellishments and valuable ware and jewels may be stolen from us. To submit to those vile recalcitrant working fools is very painful, but to lose our property and valuables would be even more excruciating. Damn this new tactic! It has found us unprepared. We can only submit meantime, prepare ourselves for similar contingencies in the future and inflict a heavy punishment. We will avenge this—our humiliation.

And at eight minutes to one, after a series of unavailing threats and appeals, a complete capitulation was made and the working class in South Africa won its first victory. The long procession of cars was met in town by a cheering and sympathetic populace. A day before, Glynn was the solitary street car man in the I. W. W. As quick as they could, three hundred motormen and conductors joined the I. W. W. and the remaining one was given five days to make his mind up.

REPRISALS.

The street car strike proved a great stimulus to the I. W. W. Within a few short weeks its membership on the Rand alone exceeded that of any other working class organization in South Africa. It was a live organization. Wherever men gathered together, there was the I. W. W. orator. The Capitalists became alarmed and hurried on their plans to destroy the organization. When brought to their knees they had promised to remove Peach from the service forever and ever, but Capitalists have no sense of honor or shame and a "Peach Enquiry Board" was constituted. Street car men were summoned to appear before the board. At the appointed hour the members of the board with wrinkled brows, funereal countenances and solemn demeanor, waited for their prey—the simple uneducated workingman. Oh, how their practiced tongues would pulverize the un-

wary members of the lower order! The very thought caused their fingers to curl and clinch and their teeth to grind.

But the working ass didn't come and next morning the country pealed with laughter. One scab set out for the place but by mistake arrived at the hospital or somewhere. Two I. W. W. pickets who were said to have misled the loyal and submissive wage slave were taken to the police station but afterwards liberated. Obviously only drastic means could hope to succeed.

Glynn and a fellow worker named Glendon were summoned to appear before the Street Car Committee. This time the notice was not headed "Peach Enquiry Committee" so they decided to attend. Two hours before Glynn and Glendon appeared in front of the committee, the "*Voice of Labor*" was authentically informed that Glynn and Glendon would be discharged and that rifles and ammunition had been handed out to the police, hundreds of whom were concentrating in Johannesburg from outside towns and districts.

A strike was again declared, but not before battalions of police had surrounded the Light & Power station and lined the streets. On the first day of the strike eight cars and sixteen scabs turned out protected by the armed police and jeered at by the crowd. Then took place one of the most thrilling incidents in the history of the class war in South Africa.

Mrs. Fitzgerald was one of the first members to join the I. W. W. and before it, the G. W. U. At a still earlier period the Trades Council had shown their appreciation of her work in a tangible and lasting form. She had played her part in every strike, as an official in the office of the Miners' Union and in the later strikes, as a member of the I. W. W.

On the afternoon of the first day of this last strike, armed with a red flag, supported by Mrs. Davidson and other women also carrying red banners, and by an admiring and inspired crowd, she charged the police and their guns, stopped a car, pulled off the scabs, and ran the car back to the shed!

Glynn and Glendon had meantime been arrested in terms of the Industrial Disputes Act. That night barricades were erected on the Market Square, the foot police were supplemented by all available mounted police, and, too terrified to turn rifle ball upon brave women, pick handles superseded guns. Fresh attacks were made by the women upon the barriers, but they were mercilessly trampled upon by the mounted assassins. A demonstration was held, but speakers were arrested as they mounted the platform. On the second day of the strike a proclamation was issued, signed by the mayor and the police, prohibiting all public meetings. *The Act resuscitated by the Capitalists for this purpose was an act passed by Kruger to repress the Uitlander* and was held by the same Capitalists to be the direct incentive which brought on the Boer war!*

On the third day, despite the proclamation, a free speech fight was held in the Market Square. Glynn who had been liberated on \$500 bail appeared on the platform but was immediately rearrested and incarcerated. To the charge of infringing the Industrial Disputes Act was added two of a similar character and another for "wrongfully participating in a prohibited assembly in defiance of a proclamation, etc., etc."

The contest was short, sharp and bloody. This time the workers have to temporarily accept defeat. Glynn is serving a term of three months imprisonment with hard labor. From the ranks of the workers the slogan has gone forth "Close up the ranks." And the response is inspiring to us rebels and bodes ill for Capitalism in the near future. This experience is only a foretaste of what is to come. There are bigger armies of labor to fight and be fought. Keep your eyes on South Africa, comrades and fellow-workers of the world. There Capitalism is seen in its most naked and unashamed, its most cruel and inexorable, form. And facing it is as brave a little band of workmen and working women rebels as the world has ever known.

*Meaning "Alien" or at that time Englishman.



A DEATH PIT.

“REASONABLE” CRIME

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

HERE is a bit of recent history connected with the Steel Trust that the government committee now investigating the octopus will not inquire into.

On the eleventh day of last March a cave-in occurred in the Norman mine. Thirty men were caught in the death trap; four escaped with injuries; 26 are said to have been killed. At this writing all of the bodies have not been recovered. Though three months have elapsed since the slaughter, no effort is being made to remove the remains of the dead men. They are covered with thousands of tons of rock and iron ore and will probably stay there until the bones are scooped up with a steam shovel to be transported with the ore to a fiery furnace.

The Norman property is operated by the Oliver Mining Company, a subsidiary of the Steel Trust. This branch of the industry is represented in the United States Smelter by the Pittsburgh millionaire after whom the mining company is

named, and also the Oliver Steel works, near Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Norman mine is one of hundreds being operated by the Steel Trust on the Missabe range. It is located at Virginia, Minnesota. Here the trust is absolutely in control. The private police of the Oliver Mining Company are a conscienceless lot of wretches. Like the cosacks of Pennsylvania, recruited from the dregs of society, they are vigilant in the interest of the company. No one is allowed to trespass on the domain. I was informed that arrangements were made for my arrest if I attempted to investigate the cave-in.

I secured the only picture taken. At the bottom of the terrible chasm can be seen the great pile of rock as it fell from the precipitous wall covering the tracks. Under this are bodies of human beings. Many are the pathetic stories told in connection with this disaster. In a family of four motherless children, the oldest a little girl who was acting the character of



"Little Meg" to the rest, became worried because her father did not come home. She was prepared to ask the boss to allow her papa to come home to his supper. It was many days before she learned that daddy would never come home again.

This catastrophe and its results have been hushed up. No information can be had as to what provision has been made for the widows and orphans. It is one of the many Steel Trust cases that will not be investigated.

In philanthropic endeavor the Steel Trust has nothing on its little brother of the plutes—the Lumber Trust. The time check, here reproduced, tells its own story, showing how men are compelled to work for this benevolent outfit for fifty cents a day. During one of the bitterest storms last winter a crew of men were employed to shovel snow from the tracks during the night. Next day the storm abated. The men were discharged. The usual deductions, as shown on the card, were made. As these men were working for \$1.80 per day they got but 30 cents for the night's labor.

It is unnecessary to say there are no labor organizations here. The helpless will-o'-the-wisp trade unions are as chaff in the grip of these mighty trusts. The Socialist movement among the Finns causes the companies some worry, because our Finnish comrades do not con-

The Virginia & Rainy Lake Company
Virginia, Minn. 3/11/11

Wages for The Virginia & Rainy Lake Company as follows:

Worked as Landing 7 1/2 Days

Days at \$ 2.00 = 15.00

WAGES TO BE PAID: 2.00

For Hospital 1.00

For Aid .50

For15

Net amount due, 50 cents

Only fifty cents

PAYABLE THROUGH FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF VIRGINIA
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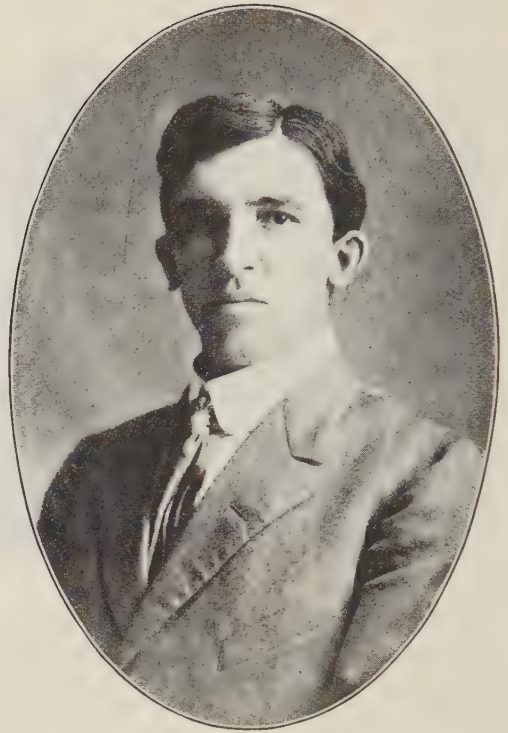
Not Valid unless Counter-signed by A. D. HERTAGLI

Counter-signed, A. D. Heritageli 20262

fine their efforts to any one line of action. They believe the working-class should be organized and to this end are spending time and money to carry the propaganda to the sovereign American citizen.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE TRUSTS?

BY
ROBERT J. WHEELER



ROBERT J. WHEELER.

NEARLY every one knows what a TRUST is. These great business organizations which have gained control of the FOOD we eat, the CLOTHES we wear, the material out of which our houses are built, the TELEGRAPH and TELEPHONE service by means of which we communicate with people at a distance, the OIL and COAL we burn, the RAILROADS over which we travel and by means of which goods are sent from place to place, in fact, almost everything we use in life is in the control of some TRUST. And when we die they hand us over to the COFFIN TRUST. We fear the power of the TRUSTS; we are beginning to hate the TRUSTS and, most important, we are about decided that WE MUST DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE TRUST QUESTION. What shall we do?

They have become so powerful. They have become so cruel. They care nothing for the people of this land. Their only thought and aim and purpose is to get more wealth and more power. Today the wealth of the TRUST OWNERS amounts to THOUSANDS OF MIL-

LIONS. All their sons and daughters cannot begin to spend the interest on all this wealth. So they spend their time in going up and down the land wasting the wealth which is wrung out of the very lives of the working people. One TRUST OWNER'S daughter spends \$200,000 yearly on dress alone, while thousands of working people who helped produce that wealth go without sufficient clothing in winter. The wife of another TRUST magnate gives a ball that costs \$150,000, while down in the slums of the same city, more than 5,000 little babies die every summer because they cannot be provided with pure milk and countless other thousands grow up without ever seeing a green field or a wild flower in bloom. Last week, the widow of a TRUST OWNER spent \$1,000,000 on entertainments for the King and Queen of England and a host of other USELESS PEOPLE, and in mills, mines and factories in America where the husband of this woman gathered the great wealth she wastes, men are toiling twelve hours a day, seven days a week, for just enough wages to keep them alive and in condi-

tion to work. Women are bending over frame and loom and machine for less than living wages and are being forced into the streets to lead lives of shame in order to make ends meet. Little children are being hurried to the mills almost before their lives are begun, there to be coined into dollars for an idle woman to throw away.

And not satisfied with the untold wealth now in their possession, these great robbers, the TRUST OWNERS continue to exploit us. They have the power to do so. They control the goods we must have in order to live. They know not the meaning of pity or mercy or compassion. They are not human beings, they are TRUST OWNERS, and they squeeze us because they have the power. They can make us work harder. They can shade wages to a bare living.

But we can stand it no longer. We have suffered so much that it has driven us to look about for a way to throw off the power of the TRUSTS. And as we go about seeking a remedy for our trouble, we hear men on every hand calling to us to come and listen to the remedy they have to propose. Some men have been calling out to us for a long time that the best plan is to REGULATE THE TRUSTS. Ex-President Roosevelt was one of those men. While he was President he made that remedy popular, but he did not use it. When President Taft came into office, he put forth strong efforts to do what Roosevelt talked so much about—REGULATE the TRUSTS. At last the Supreme Court, which is composed of CORPORATION LAWYERS, who formerly were HIGHLY PAID SERVANTS of the TRUSTS, rendered a decision on two cases which had been carried up to them by their old masters the TRUST OWNERS. These cases were the STANDARD OIL and TOBACCO CASES. The Supreme Court said: there are good and bad TRUSTS. A bad TRUST is one that is unreasonable. A GOOD TRUST IS one that is reasonable. They further said that these two TRUSTS must dissolve and reorganize again into good TRUSTS. Of course you can not understand this. But do not worry about that. No one else can either. It is wisdom as we get it from the SUPREME COURT and was

not meant to be understood by any one but the TRUST OWNERS, who knew weeks in advance what the SUPREME COURT would say and were all ready for it. The next day Standard Oil and Tobacco stock jumped up in price on the market. You see it is a good thing for the TRUSTS that they OWN the SUPREME COURT along with other things. The TRUSTS ARE NOT LETTING ANY VALUABLE THING RUN AROUND LOOSE. A SUPREME COURT is very valuable to the TRUSTS. You have been taught to fear, respect and love the SUPREME COURT. As long as the TRUSTS can count on you not losing your fear, respect and love for this institution, it makes no difference who or what the men are who sit on the supreme bench as judges. So the TRUSTS OWNERS have packed the Court with their HIRED MEN and expect you to reverence them as of old for therein is the TRUST OWNERS' defense. But we shall see what we shall see.

Then there is another kind of a man who has a remedy to propose. This man says:

"These TRUSTS are wicked things." Let us break them up. Let us destroy them, root and branch. Let us put the TRUST OWNERS in jail and make them break stone on the rock pile. Let us TAKE AWAY THE WEALTH WHICH THEY HAVE STOLEN FROM THE PEOPLE." This kind of man is a DEMOCRAT OR A PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICAN. He represents the LITTLE BUSINESS MEN, whose business is being destroyed by the TRUSTS. These little fellows want to go back to the "good old days of COMPETITION," the time when all industry was carried on by small concerns. Because these little business men have possession of the Government they think they can turn progress backward. They fail to see that the outcome of Competition must always be MONOPOLY. The working people are being thrown out of work by the introduction of labor saving machinery. Just suppose we went about trying to break up the machines. Every one would say we were crazy anarchists. Yet we would be just as reasonable as are the little business men who want to break

up the TRUSTS. The trust is the machine which is taking the job away from the little business man. In their proposal to destroy the TRUST, the little business men are just where we were about 100 years ago. We, the workers, have made some progress in thought. We no longer want to destroy the machines.

In Washington today, the Democrats are investigating the TRUSTS. When Mr. Gary, of the STEEL TRUST was called to tell the Committee about his trust, Mr. Gary calmly told the Committee that the STEEL TRUST controlled the steel and iron business. Furthermore he showed the Committee that it would be utterly impossible to break up the TRUSTS, as such a proceeding would wreck the Nation. He proposed that the Government take charge of the STEEL TRUST. The Committee were stunned. They expected that the Wicked Steel Trust would be defiant and arrogant. Then the Committee would undertake to punish Mr. Gary for Contempt. They expected to make much good campaign material out of the investigation. But when Mr. Gary smilingly told the Committee everything they wanted to know, they were stumped. The next day the papers printed big headlines, declaring that Mr. Gary had offered to turn the Steel Trust over to the Government. Mr. Gary is a very clever gentleman. Like all the managers of trusts, he is a good thinker. He understands that COMPETITION leads always to MONOPOLY. He knows that the TRUSTS, having gotten control of the wealth producing machinery of the Nation, are more powerful than the Government. But Mr. Gary also understands that there is a Revolution brewing in America. He knows that unless there is something done to placate the workers, the crisis will come soon. So he proposes that the Government manage the Steel Trust. Clever gentleman that he is, he knows that once the Government undertakes such a task, the next step will be National Ownership. This will mean that the Government will buy out the Trusts, watered stock and all, and the present TRUST OWNERS will be relieved from all responsibilities and become BOND HOLDERS, like Andrew Carnegie, while the workers will be

compelled to work just as hard and receive no more pay than before.

This would not solve the problem for the working people. It would only give them a change of MASTERS. Instead of PRIVATE CAPITALISM, we would have NATIONAL CAPITALISM. Then the Army and the POLICE could be used legally to break up our unions and compel us to work for whatever the Government chose to pay us. The wise ones among the Capitalists have been preparing for just this step. That is why they had the DICK MILITARY BILL passed. Under this law, every man in the Nation, is a member of the Militia of his state. Thus under NATIONAL CAPITALISM, *we could be called into the Army at any time* and our strikes broken as they broke the FRENCH RAILROAD WORKERS' STRIKE, last year.

But there is a way to solve this TRUST problem which will give the Workers every thing they desire. The Socialists propose that the workers organize in every MILL and MINE and FACTORY and every other department of industry in the land. Also to organize with the Socialist Party on the political field. Then the Socialists propose that the workers take possession of the TRUSTS and all other industries and that the WORKERS in each industry manage the production of wealth. Then instead of politicians being sent to legislatures or to Congress, the workers shall send experts whom the workers shall choose. These experts shall represent the industries in Legislatures and in Congress. The duties of such a body of representatives would then consist of planning the distribution of the wealth which the workers in the industries produce and in regulating the rate of production, so that enough would always be produced for all the people. This would be Socialism.

Your part, Mr. Worker, will be to organize a Union in your own industry; a Union which shall finally take in every worker in your industry from the laborer to the paid manager. Thus you will train the workers in each industry and give them practice in Democracy, or the rule of the Worker. Your Union can help you get better wages and shorter hours—even today while the change is taking place.

Then every worker must join the So-

cialist Party. This will organize your power on the political field and give you possession of Government. You will thus be able to defend the workers against the capitalist courts, army and police while the change is being made. The purpose

of the industrial Union and the Socialist Party will be to destroy the power of capitalists and place the workers in supreme control. Then the Producers of Wealth shall be the owners thereof and the problem will be finally *solved*.

RACE OR CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS: WHICH?

BY

JOHN P BURKE

IN organizing the working class of the United States into a class-conscious industrial and political organization, the Socialist movement has one obstacle to contend with that no other country has to such an extent. In this country, the vast working-class population is composed of nearly every race under the sun.

Thousands of these working men and women come from subject countries that have been ruled for hundreds of years by depotic powers. In their countries they have been treated as inferior races; and every opportunity for mental, social or material advancement has been rigidly denied them. It is not surprising, then, that certain races have developed a very strong race-consciousness. The persecutions they have had to endure have cemented them together and taught them the necessity of race solidarity.

Race solidarity is admirable when used in fighting for liberty or in resisting oppression; but above race-consciousness and race solidarity should be placed class-consciousness and class solidarity.

In the United States the capitalist class rely upon the race-consciousness of the working class to keep them divided upon both the industrial and the political field. Both of the capitalist political parties, the Republican and the Democratic, have a corps of politicians to deliver the vote of their respective races.

In strong Irish communities a certain number of Irishmen receive nomination

on both the Republican and the Democratic tickets, and they are supposed to deliver the vote of the Irish race. How? By appealing to the race-consciousness of the Irish workers. By waving the green flag, and shouting "Home Rule for Ireland!" Congressman O'Connell, in a recent issue of the *Boston Post*, charged that the notorious Fitzgerald, mayor of Boston, almost incited race and religious riots to insure his election.

In the French strongholds of New England, the election cry of the French politician is: "French vote for the French!" The Italian and the German politician sound the same note, and decoy the workers of their race into voting the tickets of the capitalist masters.

The lesson that the working class of the United States must learn is, substitute class action for race action. Class action includes race action; class-consciousness includes race-consciousness; class solidarity includes race solidarity. By standing shoulder to shoulder with our fellow workmen of every race, creed or color, we not only assist the workers of our own race, but we assist the workers of every race.

The capitalist class is united, irrespective of race, creed or color; the working class must be united irrespective of race, creed or color. United, as workmen, into one great all-embracing industrial union; and united at the ballot box, under the banner of political Socialism, we will be invincible in our attacks upon the capitalist system.



A GROUP OF STRIKERS.

THE STRIKE AT BALDWIN'S

BY

ED. MOORE

A TEST of strength to decide whether all the men who build locomotives shall continue to be employed, or whether some of them shall be thrown out to starve when orders fall off was the cause of the general strike of 12,000 men against the management of the Baldwin Locomotive Works in its plants in Philadelphia and Eddystone. Eddystone is just outside of Chester, Pa.

Thirteen different craft unions, federated in the Allied Council of Locomotive Builders, all its members employed in

the Baldwin plants, laid down their tools and walked out on strike for the purpose of forcing the general superintendent to order the re-employment of 1,200 men who had been laid off. Most of the men had been picked out, as the general superintendent admitted, because they were openly and boldly active in pushing the work of organizing the locomotive builders and teaching them that profits come out of that part of the work in building locomotives for which the employes receive no money.

"The Hell Hole of Philadelphia," is

what the Baldwin Locomotive works is called in the City of Brotherly Love. For years every effort to get the men employed in it to form or join a union failed. From ten to twenty thousand accidents occur there every year and in hundreds of cases the victims die from their injuries. Apparently this state of affairs made no impression on the fortunate ones who recovered and who were permitted to return to work, nor did the deaths from the fatal accidents seem to be a warning to all the employes of what was likely to be their fate at any moment. But expanding industry—business growing larger—works in mysterious ways its educational mission to perform.

In February, 1910, the motormen and conductors of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, which operate all of the street railways of the city, struck in retaliation for the laying off of several hundred union carmen without a moment's notice by the company.

Using the sentiment created by the Socialist party for unity of action by the workers, a clique of trade union politicians, in a spirit of bravado, and to make a bluff to frighten the businessmen, who give the capitalists' orders to the politicians of the old and reform parties, to make them place union labor leaders as candidates on the capitalists' tickets, declared they would call a general strike of all the workers in the city if the Rapid Transit Company did not make a settlement with its striking employes.

Unions not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and shop associations, some of them formed on the spur of the moment, forced the hands of the bluffing trade union politicians, and, in the wave of class-conscious enthusiasm

which swept the city from its conservative moorings, the workers in the Baldwin shops became the smashing shoulder that shivered the bulwarks of the traction company.

Taught their own power by standing shoulder to shoulder to help the trolley-men, the Baldwin workers agreed, while still out fighting for the trolley-men, that they would organize for their own benefit. While in this state of mind, business agents and organizers of the craft unions prejudiced their minds against the Industrial Workers of the World by insinuating that it is the same kind of a union as the Keystone Union, an association of scab trolley-men that the Rapid Transit Company has organized. To keep the ranks of the strikers unbroken, the Industrial Workers of the World, while denying the lying accusations of the craft union officials encouraged the Baldwin men to organize, preferring to see them united in some kind of a union rather than to let them remain unorganized, with each individual at the mercy of the spiteful little bosses. By boasting of the large membership of the A. F. of L., and its financial resources to aid its members in their strikes, the Baldwin men were induced to go into thirteen craft unions. But the idea of one big union had taken such firm root in their minds that it forced the international craft unions to grant to their locals a dispensation to let their members form a locomotive builders' council. In all matters affecting the Baldwin shops the Allied Council of Locomotive Builders has jurisdiction. It set its face against paid business agents, and it does its work through unpaid committees.



POLICE FIRING AT WORKERS IN BALDWIN LOCOMOTIVE WORKS DURING THE STREET CAR STRIKE.

During the year of its existence, the Council has done remarkably good work by shortening the hours of labor—securing Saturday half-holiday—and in getting an increase in wages. It was preparing a new wage scale, and to make sure of its acceptance by the Baldwin Locomotive Works, the several unions in the Council vigorously pushed the work of getting those not members to join them. At the noon hour, the committees went from one department to another exerting moral pressure, sometimes with physical force, on the non-unionists.

A workingman in one of the departments committed suicide, and the charge was made and posted in conspicuous places in the works, that he was driven to it by the insistent demands of the union men that he should become a member. This charge made the union men indignant, and as several of their number had been fatally burned in a preventable accident only a few days before the non-unionist took his own life, they compared the hushing up of the details of the killing of their fellow-unionists with the loud outcry about the death of a man who took his life with his own hands.

Indignation ran high. The boldest among the men wanted to lay down their tools at once and remain idle until the insulting notice was removed. Advised by those who thought it best not to be too radical, the insult was swallowed. Before the smart from the sting of the insult had ceased to hurt, committeemen and active unionists were laid off. A falling off of orders was the reason given for laying off 1,200 men. That the company was lying was evident to the men when they were told that they would have to take off their union buttons. Unionism and not slack work was the reason the men were laid off.

The Machinist Union in the plant was hit the hardest. At a meeting, it instructed its president, who was one of its delegates to the Council, to insist that a demand should be made that the victimized men should be re-employed. One of the discharged active union men had been a trusted employe of the company continuously for thirty years.

Remembering the big promises of the international unions, and anxious to get the financial assistance they promised to

give any of their members who should be forced to strike, the Council called in the presidents of the international unions. These officials, while very generous with words of sympathy for the victimized men, said that in view of the business conditions they would not sanction a strike, and they succeeded in persuading the Council to take no action.

Because he had disobeyed its orders, and because it believed that it was mainly through his influence that the Council accepted the suggestion of the international officials not to order a strike, the Machinist Union deposed its president.

Feeling assured that it had the men beaten at every point, the Baldwin Locomotive works took advantage of the refused support of the international unions. There came a sudden change of front in the manner of General Superintendent Vauclain from sympathetic consideration to a proud and insulting manner. His taunt was that if the men struck hunger would bring them back to the shops. Baldwin's thought they could slip over a knock-out blow. They aimed in the stay bolt shop. This shop is in the boiler-making department, in which the most aggressive union men work. A foreman was discharged because he would not take off his union button. A number of his men went out with him. This started the stampede which, for all practical purposes, closed the plants in Philadelphia and Eddystone.

A factor, which may have been the predominating one in getting the men to stand together, was the police interference with Elizabeth Gurley Flinn. They had orders to interfere when she attempted to speak at the noon hour in front of the Baldwin Philadelphia plant. It showed the men on whose side the city government is, and they grasped the idea of One Big Union to get the best of the bosses.

One of the first acts of the men after coming out on strike was to take authority out of the hands of the Allied Council of Locomotive Builders and vest it in a strike committee composed of delegates from the unions. The members of the strike committee are the most radical men in the unions. By this act notice was served that the strikers were going to attend to their own business in their own way.

What was the most remarkable thing about the strike was its democratic management, and in a most intelligent manner, by men, who until they came out were unknown in the labor movement, and regarded by themselves and their fellow-workmen as incapable of doing big things. But they handled a situation that would drive a trained tactician from West Point insane, and a Kuraopotkin would have fallen back on suicide to get out of it.

As soon as a relief committee was appointed on the first day of the strike, urgent demands for immediate relief were made. Look at the picture of the striker and his family. His own statement is that he had not made a full week's time since the first of the year. He pays ten dollars a month for two small rooms and a little outside kitchen in a dilapidated house. It takes a large quantity of food to feed thirteen mouths, and this striker, employed only when the Baldwin works wanted him, owed two months rent, and

the grocer had a bill of twenty-seven dollars charged against him. General Superintendent Vauclein told a committee while in conference on the proposition of taking back the men laid off, that if a strike was ordered the company would wait until hunger made the employes beg to get back. Mr. Vauclein is reputed to be a Christian gentleman. Humility is a Christian virtue. Poverty is its mother. Vauclein keeps his workers poor, and that, he thought, would keep them so low spirited that they would never strike.

To keep roofs over their heads, and to get food to put into the mouths of several hundred hungry families of strikers was what the relief committee had to do at once. Official sanction of the strike was refused by the international officers. The international president of the Iron Molders' Union told striking molders at Eddystone to tear up their union cards, if ordered to do so by the Baldwin Company, and go back to work. In a situation as desperate as this, what would trained



A STRIKER'S HOME.



RESIDENCE OF A BALDWIN "BOSS."

military experts have done? Would they have done as well as the relief committee of the Baldwin strikers? And what was it this committee did? On a suggestion from the local I. W. W., endorsed by Local Philadelphia of the Socialist party, collections to aid the strikers were taken up from door to door. Members of the Socialist party and of the I. W. W. acted as guides for the strikers who collected money, as the cards they gave out stated, to keep Morgan from starving them. At last the army of the working class has learned how to live by foraging in the enemy's country. From the indications in the seamen's strike, it will next starve the enemy in its own country, by a general strike.

A far extended picket line was thrown around the plants. So vigilant were the

pickets that the workers in other industries in the war zone were often held up and made to prove that they were not strikebreakers. Every four hours the pickets were relieved, and a bicycle corps was on continuous duty, bringing in reports to headquarters, keeping all parts of the line in touch with what went on.

An ambitious politician, who wishes to be the next mayor, and his backers in the Department of Public Safety, did not dare to be too brutal, and as the strikers had friends in the neighborhoods where strikebreakers lived, and as these friends took good care of the "Heroes," no open clash between the city government, the ally of the Baldwin Locomotive works, and the forces of the strikers took place. One striker, a Pole, was seriously wounded by strikebreakers. Charles



WHERE THE WORKERS LIVE.

Schorr, who said he was a special policeman for Baldwin's, was killed in a quarrel that he started on a street car.

J. P. Morgan has put his fingers into the Baldwin Locomotive works' pie, and the drawing of the plums from it is the probable cause of the trouble. Organized workers resist when the screws are turned too fast and the pressure becomes too hard in squeezing out their blood.

Under the Morgan scheme of reorganizing the Baldwin Locomotive works, at least \$20,000,000 of water was added. As Morgan never takes less than fifty per cent of the spoils, he will probably get \$10,000,000 of real money out of the deal. At five per cent per annum, this will give him \$500,000 a year income from the labor of the locomotive builders in the Baldwin plants. A weekly tribute to him of \$9,-

615.38, paid out of the wealth put into the locomotives built by the wage-slaves in a great American industry, all in the city where it was proclaimed "all men are born free and equal." Look at the pictures of where the wage-slaves live, then look at the home of the chief slave driver for Morgan in the Baldwin plants, and show us the equality and freedom that is the boast of our masters.

But we are on our way to freedom, marching on the road of industrial unity under the banner of One Big Union. We are banding together for revolutionary political action. We are calling the working class to revolt by the slogan: "Workmen of the world unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Editorial from the Maoriland Worker, New Zealand

BRIEFLY and plainly, then, Industrial Unionism is organization by industry rather than trade, in acceptance of the Class Struggle and bent upon the abolition of the wages system. In its aim it is Socialism, as it is in its philosophy; in its method it is industrial, affirming the industrial field to be paramount in importance as it is in actuality. It does not underrate Political Action.

All social institutions and relationships, it says, grow out of the economic foundation.

Economics (the manner of our wealth-making) is fundamental. All else follows.

Now let it be grasped that with the coming of Capitalism there came the proletariat, which is the working-class made by Capitalism, and thus slightly differing from the workers of before Capitalism.

The proletariat is the working-class exploited by Production for Profit or the command of capital. The workers before Capitalism were serfs tied to the baron's land and not hunters for work to make

profits for bosses. As Capitalism matured and the proletariat grew, there resulted immense aggregation and concentration of wealth, industrial development, wondrous economic consolidation and trustification. All on Capitalism's side.

Trades Unionism, able for decades to cope to some extent with the changing order—splendid organization for the day of single and small tool production—great factor when craft held sway—came to be well-nigh impotent as opponent of its knitted oppressor. Its oppressor was marshalled and organized in harmony with events and evolution: IT remained foe of What Once Was, did not harmonize with development, stayed sectional and is routed.

Industrial Unionism stands for the Trustification of Unionism.

Capitalism is trustified (its apparent sectionalism in instances is superficial only; back of the small concern is ever the financier, the bank, the powerful gold-controller, who could smash but yet permit existence to their creatures).

The point is well made that however

useful Trades Unionism was, its logical extension is Industrial Unionism. The line of conflict has ceased to be Trade: it is Industry. We are in the era of Industrial Capitalism.

Craft lines, too, are sundered. Trades Unionism is still for the dead thing, the Craft. Industrial Unionism is for the live thing, the Class.

In class organization alone is there hope and strength and unity.

For Trades Unionists we have nothing but admiration. But our mission is to make them Industrial Unionists. To make them such inasmuch as our salvation as theirs depends upon it. The workers rise or fall as a class. Class Unionism, trustified unionism, "an injury to one the concern of all" unionism is imperatively the need.

Industrial Unionism!

Let us link up our unions industry by industry, each industry joined with its neighbor, and New Zealand and the world will be ours.

Here is the road to Solidarity.

And Solidarity is something substantial, something with business in it and freedom.

With Trades Unionism must go the indirect means it has been decoyed into supporting. Conciliation and arbitration, with all its beating-down dicta, and its isolating agreements, must go. How can the workers successfully operate and fight in this piecemeal fashion?

Swing all the unionists of the world into One Big Union—into a Trust if you

like—and behold a Unionism as defiant and mighty as the rock of Gibraltar. What could not such a Unionism do?

For such a unionism the New Zealand Federation of Labor speaks. The Federation already is the (significant symptom!) organization feared by the enemy. What might it not be and do with its strength doubled, trebled, quadrupled?

Into the Federation of Labor, men bowed down with toil, hungry for the bread of life which is of your making, but not of your owning.

We have said that Industrial Unionism is greater than arbitration, protection, taxation, labor legislation and accompaniments. Why? These measures are anywhere or everywhere—and have availed nothing to the worker, since with them remain social sores terrifying and economic evils devastating. Wealth and want, prostitution and celibacy, out-of-workness and riotous luxury, these are separate pairs whose antipodes is cause and effect as much as fruit of blossom.

Put that time and talent into Industrial Unionism which the workers put into "red-herrings," and New Zealand will be of a certainty a land flowing with milk and honey, a working-man's paradise! But if you doubt the aim—the potentialities—you may not doubt the gain—the practicalities—of Closer Organization. Unity must mean superior fighting machinery. Industrial Unionism, per Industrial Unionists, in France, in Italy, and in America is teaching the world "the way to win."





STEVE FLANAGAN,
Editor The Free Press.

THE NEW CASTLE FREE PRESS FIGHT

BY
JACK BRITT GEARITY

CHECKMATED at every turn by the Free Press, District Attorney Thomas W. Dickey at the June term of court offered to quash the seditious libel indictments against Frank Hartman, Charles McCarty, Charles A. McKeever and William J. White, the four New Castle (Pa.) Socialists, if they would pay the costs of the case which has been hanging fire since March, 1910. The seditious libel case was listed to come up at the March term of court this year, the jury at the first trial in June, 1910, having failed to reach a verdict satisfactory to Judge Porter. But the comment of the Free Press on the way the case was being conducted was too hot for the enemy.

Dickey appeared in court on March 13th with a petition signed by Chief of Police Gilmore praying that S. L. Flanagan, Frank Hartman and Charles A. McKeever, whose names appeared on the editorial page of the paper at that time, be held for the Grand Jury for contempt of court. Porter granted Gilmore's prayer despite the fact that such action was clearly a violation of the law.

District Attorney Dickey and City Solicitor Gardner, got the contempt case on the calendar for the June term of court

in advance of the Seditious Libel case, though the latter case has been dragging along for fifteen months, and the law says the defendants have a right to trial and settlement of the case within three terms of court after indictment is found. Dickey and Gardner clearly hoped that, if the defendants wouldn't pay the bill of costs for their blundering and persecution, a verdict of guilty could be got in the contempt case, thereby prejudicing the public mind and the prospective jurymen thus assuring a verdict of guilty in the Seditious Libel case.

The Seditious Libel is both unique and revolutionary, as there has not been a sedition case tried in this country in more than a hundred years, and if a verdict of guilty could be obtained under the old English common law in this case a precedent would be established by which the editors of any Socialist periodical could be haled into court on a trumped up charge of sedition and jailed, thus stifling freedom of the press.

When the local Socialists realized what the game Dickey and Gardner were playing meant to them and to the movement at large, they surrendered themselves to Sheriff Whaley on June 12th, and were locked up in jail. Then Mrs. Catherine

Flanagan went down to Pittsburg, accompanied by Mrs. McKeever, and John Marron, attorney for the Free Press, drew up a petition for a writ of habeas corpus, which he took before Justice John B. Head at Greensburg. When the contempt case was called in court on the morning of June 13th, Attorneys Gardner and Mehard, local counsel for the Free Press, informed Judge Porter that Attorney Marron had telegraphed them that he was on his way to New Castle with an order from Justice Head that would carry the case into the Superior Court of Pennsylvania.

That announcement was like an exploding bomb to Judge Porter and the prosecution.

Attorney Marron argued that, in compliance with the order of the Superior Court, Flanagan, Hartman and McKeever be released and each placed under a bond of five hundred dollars for appearance in court at such time as the Superior Court might name. Judge Porter declined to grant that motion.

Refusing to release the three defendants under bail upon the order of Justice Head of the Superior Court, Judge Porter laid himself open to a charge of contempt of the higher court. If he had stood by his position for twenty-four hours he would have had to face that charge and also suits for false imprisonment. Marron, however, appeared before him again shortly after five o'clock that afternoon and renewed his motion in writing. Either Judge Porter talked with a real lawyer during lunch hour or else decided of his own volition that it would be wiser to grant the motion of attorneys for the defense and release them.

That decision was not handed down until twenty minutes of six in the evening, but both the local capitalist daily newspapers were on the street at three o'clock containing reports of Judge Porter's decision.

Where did they get those reports?

Who was in a position, except Judge Porter himself, to tell what was in Judge Porter's mind?

Seeing that their move to try the contempt fiasco first was checked, and the defendants having refused to pay the costs in the Seditious Libel case, Dickey presented a motion to Judge asking that

the latter case be laid over until September term of court.

Granny Gardner, as the City Solicitor is popularly called, supported Dickey's motion by reading a number of strong articles from the columns of the Free Press. For a half hour, in fact, while Gardner read scorching criticism of the judge and the prosecution the court room was the scene of a fine propaganda meeting, with City Solicitor Gardner on the box.

Attorney Mehard, counsel for the defendants, argued that the defendants were ready and demanded immediate trial.

Attorney John Marron, of Pittsburg, riddled Dickey's motion, pointing out that it did not contain a solitary legal reason justifying the court in granting it.

A dramatic incident occurred when Marron charged that some person behind the scenes was responsible for the persecution of the Free Press, and declared that the defendants considered that they were acting well within their legal rights in criticizing court and prosecution, and if Dickey insisted on coming into court and pleading for postponement of the case from time to time because the Free Press criticized him or the judge, or both, the case would never come to trial at all, because the Free Press is not going to change its policy.

"Take him down!" "Take him down!" exclaimed Granny Gardner.

"Yes, take me down," retorted Marron, who went on to riddle the whole proceeding from the indictment of the four Socialists for Seditious Libel down to the indictment for constructive contempt of court.

During Marron's argument Judge Porter, who is usually as placid and serene as a shallow pond, fidgeted in his chair. Despite the fact that all the law was on Marron's side, Judge Porter could not maintain his dignity and grant the demand of Attorney Marron.

Therefore, at the close of Marron's argument, Judge Porter granted Dickey's motion to lay the Seditious Libel case over until the September term of court. And Flanagan, Hartman and McKeever were released under five hundred dollar bonds.

Whether or not the Seditious Libel case will be heard at the September term of court and finally disposed of now depends on the action taken by the Superior Court at Philadelphia. Arguments are being heard before that court as this is written, and the probabilities are that the Superior Court will lay the case over until regular term of that court in October, in which case the Seditious Libel trial will not come up in September.

This Seditious Libel case is the most important legal battle ever fought in this country in behalf of the working class. It is more important than the Haywood case. Far more important than the question of government by injunction. It strikes at the very roots of the right of free speech and free press. The prosecution is acting under an English common law of the seventeenth century, and a conviction in this case will mean a long and costly fight all over this country to maintain a measure of freedom to the working-class press.

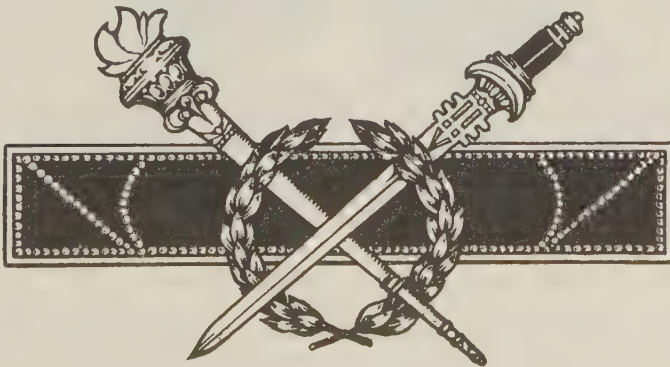
The case was first tried before Judge Porter in June, 1910, and the jury agreed to acquit the four defendants, but brought in a verdict dividing the costs of the case between the defendants and the prosecution. Under the rotten laws of Pennsylvania, if you are accused of a crime, tried and acquitted, the jury may saddle you with the costs of the case just

the same. On June 19, 1910, the jury brought in its verdict, but Judge Porter said:

No matter whether the Seditious Libel case ever comes up or not. No matter whether the four comrades are found guilty or acquitted. No matter whether the contempt case is ever tried or not. No matter whether the three contempt defendants are acquitted or found guilty. The workers of New Castle will win, for this fight has taught them a badly needed lesson—the lesson of class solidarity.

Unless all signs fail the campaign slogan, New Castle for the Workers, will ascend to heaven election night as a shout of triumph. Without compromise of any sort, without playing any petty peanut politics, but with colors flying and defiant utterance the party is going to carry on a hot campaign of propaganda. Already the enemy fears the outcome of a battle of ballots. The Republican County Committee has men out visiting the voters asking them to line up and help defeat the Socialists.

Victory will crown the efforts of the workers here, no matter what the enemy may do. If a fusion ticket is put in the field there will be a strong minority of revolutionary Socialists elected to City Councils on a ringing platform. The workers of New Castle will thus have made their first step towards freedom.



THE EIGHT HOUR WORK DAY

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

SINCE the early years of the last century when the average work day was at least twelve hours for artisans in New York and other eastern states, efforts have been made by the workers through strikes and otherwise to reduce the length of the working day.

The federal report of the Bureau of Labor, quoted by Sidney Webb in "The Eight Hours Day," shows that "as early as 1825 the building trades and the ship carpenters and caulkers of New York and other places along the Atlantic coast were striking for a Ten Hours Day," and that "this movement was thenceforth carried on continuously by them and other trades with frequent strikes."

From that time to this the struggle has been carried on by the workers, now in one form and now in another, to shorten the working day, and as Dr. Ely points out in his "Labor Movement in America," "the length of the working day has formed a topic of absorbing interest to the wage-earners of the United States from the very beginning of its industrial history."

The eight hour day was probably first proposed in England by Robert Owen as early as 1817, "when even children were kept at work in the textile mills for fifteen or sixteen hours a day." However, this may be there has been almost a century of agitation among modern workers for a shorter day, the hours being gradually reduced until now eight hours constitute a day's work in quite a number of skilled and partially skilled trades.

And eight hours is long enough, and even too long, for a day in modern industry, and there is no earthly reason why the work day should be longer. On the contrary, there is every reason why it should be reduced to that in every trade and occupation, and if the right effort is made on the part of the workers within the next year or two the eight hour day

can be conquered for every industrial worker in America.

Upon that issue I believe the workers could all be united and brought into harmonious co-operation, not for the eight hour work day alone, but in the wider activities that are required to emancipate them from wage-slavery.

There is something in the shorter work day that appeals to every workingman whether he belongs to a union or not, or whether he is class conscious or not, and it is this something which gives vitality to that issue and power to the movement that stands for it and fights to realize it for the workers.

Everything that is of interest to the workers in their struggle to better their condition should appeal to the revolutionary movement. Indeed, the only way to make the movement truly revolutionary is to make the daily struggle of the workers its own struggle and so thoroughly incarnate and breathe that struggle as to make it not only a necessary and inseparable part of the workers but the very workers themselves in organized and conscious action to throw off the burdens that oppress them and walk the earth free men.

In the past a number of strikes have been precipitated to enforce the eight hour day, notably that as far back as 1886 which resulted in the Haymarket tragedy, but not one of them could bring to bear the power latent in the labor movement of this day and which requires only the right issue to call forth its triumphant demonstration.

The eight hour movement has failed to a considerable extent in the past, for reasons not necessary to discuss at this time. It is sufficient to say for our present purpose that failure to secure the eight hour day has but served to intensify the demand for it, and it appears quite certain that a nation-wide campaign,

vitalized by the spirit of the revolutionary movement, would develop amazing proportions and spontaneous power, bring millions of workers into closer touch and better understanding, awaken them to the identity of their interests, and promote their industrial and political unification.

Of course, it is to be understood that the eight hour work day is to be established without any decrease of wages. That this can be done is so self-evident that it need not be argued here. All the

workers are in favor of this step, all organized labor can be readily committed to it, and if the movement is rightly organized and the campaign properly directed and energetically pressed all over the country the eight hour work day can be uniformly established in American industry and its triumphant inauguration will add great impetus to the industrial movement of the workers and mark a new era in their struggle for emancipation.



COMRADES DEBS AND BREWER.

LETTER FROM JAPAN

THE BIG FIRE AT YOSHIWARA



SCENE OF FIRE.

PERHAPS you have already heard of the terrible fire at Yoshiwara, a place of world-wide fame, known as the Region of Ill-Repute in Tokyo. It is a historic spot where the bodies of women have been let for centuries, to the men who had the necessary price. It was walled off and fenced in with a big ditch about it, 3,000 legal prostitutes were kept in this small, secluded, especially set-apart spot.

When the most renowned brothels in the world caught fire the flames swept the district clean and spread to the neighboring quarters where 6,000 houses of the poor, the working class population were also destroyed. Great suffering has followed.

Our fire-fighters were a part of the prefect of police and possessed few steam pumps and little hose.

Tokyo is divided into six fire districts with 170 fire-fighters and 3,000 assisting citizens called out by the fire alarms. We have a city water system, but the pressure failed at Yoshiwara on the night of the fire. The houses of the working class were mostly built of wood or bamboo and they burned like paper. The photographs I enclose give you something of an idea of the devastating work of the flames.

Our Salvation Army has been preaching Reform in Yoshiwara, but since the fire all their talk is about the EVIL RESULTS of Prostitution and they are advocating the abolition of prostitution. I expect they will have their hands full.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

Japan has a property qualification for the election of members of the Imperial

Diet. There are at present some one and a half—less than one and three quarter millions of voters here out of 50,000,000 people. All local elections are limited by a Prussian three class system and even this is limited by direct national taxes, so that the working class is excluded not only from the national but from the local elections as well.

We have had a universal suffrage association for fifteen years and for the past eight years have managed to introduce the universal suffrage bill to the Imperial Diet. In order to introduce a private bill, it is necessary to get at least thirty members of the Lower House. We have always got this number and those favoring universal suffrage have been increasing in the Lower House and at the last Diet the bill passed.

This was a great gain for us. The bill was duly sent to the Peers, or the Upper House, where it was unanimously turned down with the announcement that such a bill would never be allowed to pass the gate. This was the answer of the House of Lords, but nevertheless they advertised our movement extensively.

Universal suffrage is here regarded as

a part of the Socialist program and is strenuously opposed by the Japanese government. Lately the police have tried to interfere with the propaganda of universal suffrage. Only today the police inspector of the district where I live commanded me to appear at the station. In due course I appeared and the inspector advised me to reorganize our propaganda club into a political association, in order to keep within the law, which will give you an idea of how closely we are watched in Japan.

FACTORY LAWS.

At the last Imperial Diet a Factory Law was passed in Japan for the first time. It was three times drafted by the Government in an attempt to please the employers of labor, who fought every inch of the way. The proposals are so hedged about by regulations and exceptions to every rule that capitalists will be able to slip through all of them. So that our women and children may expect to continue to toil over cotton spinning machines at night just as they have in the past. Nearly all work fourteen hours a day with but two rest days a month.



JAPANESE FIREMEN.

RECOLLECTIONS OF SOCIALIST BEGINNINGS IN MONTANA

BY

M. P. HAGGARTY

An Old Member of the Butte Mill & Smeltermen's Union, No. 74, W. F. M.

THE progress of the revolutionary labor movement in Montana, an incident of which is the victory of the Socialist party in Butte, brings to mind recollections of work done in that state years ago. If the workers elsewhere surmise that the labor movement in Montana, which is the most effective and progressive in the land, grew out of the soil without careful nurture, they are mistaken. Agreed, the soil was rich with the elements demanded for revolutionary growth, but intelligent cultivation was now wanted. About twelve years ago, a group of revolutionists in Butte, most of whom were members of the Mill & Smeltermen's Union, set themselves to the task. A brief retrospect may be interesting to the readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

It should be understood that the character of the work in which the men were engaged required strong, vigorous manhood. Our union was composed of the best working class elements of anywhere in the world. Even the agricultural portions of the United States could not furnish men bolder nor of more independent mind. These men had been brought together by reason of great provocation. The smelters were operated twenty-four hours a day seven days a week. Men worked thirteen hours on the night shift and eleven hours on the day shift. The work was very arduous. Strong as were the men, they could not endure labor throughout the year. Great numbers of them sickened and died.

The growth of the Western Federation of Miners, that classic example of what an industrial union can accomplish, is too well known to need describing here. It is our opinion that its temporary annexation by the A. F. of L. will not ruin the organization. Its principles of organ-

ization are too sound, and its membership far too intelligent, to permit disruption by craft unionism. I am sure that it will soon be found again in the van of the American labor movement.

It was Local No. 74 which made it possible to organize the old labor party in the state of Montana. The purpose of that organization was to secure the enactment of a law making eight hours the legal working day for all men engaged in and about the mines, mills and smelters. Such a law was enacted by the legislature in January, 1901. It is now a part of the State Constitution, having been made such by popular referendum.

It cannot be denied that good came from the labor party movement of 1900. It helped give to the state the best labor conditions in America. The moral effect of the law is certainly greater than any direct results. Those who did not receive the benefit of the Act demanded that their hours of labor be shortened so it had nearly the same ultimate effect as though enforced throughout the state. The only objection which can be made to the labor party is that some workers are likely to be satisfied, now that they have secured the eight-hour day. These fears are not based upon facts. Reports coming from Montana surely prove that the workers are not satisfied. They are proceeding from victory to victory. More power to their industrial and political organizations. But the labor party eleven years ago was justified both by its causes and its results.

The record shows that our union was organized in November, 1896. From the beginning the members assiduously applied themselves to the work of education. What we understood by education is seen upon reading Art. 6, Sec. 3 of the By-laws of the Union:

"Five per cent of the revenue of this Union shall be placed in an educational fund. This fund shall be placed in the hands of a Press Committee at the end of each month. This committee shall purchase such literature and secure such educational speakers as they may deem advisable and report to the Union with an itemized account of the expenses incurred to secure same, the money received and the amount on hand, whenever so requested by the Union."

At the convention of the Montana Trade and Labor Council held at the City of Helena, Sept. 21-3, 1899, No. 74 had a resolution introduced asking that body to formulate a plan for the carrying on of active propaganda work among members of the Union, as well as the unorganized workers throughout the state. The convention adopted the resolution and elected a committee to carry out its provision. Ten per cent of the income of the organization was to be applied to the work. The committee was further authorized to solicit contributions to the educational fund. During the first year \$400 were expended and 16,000 pieces of literature were distributed. Local No. 74 took special interest in the work. It created an Educational Committee of the Local to work in Butte and vicinity. At first it set aside three per cent of the funds of the Union and later five per cent for this purpose. This gave us a fund of about \$1,800 per year. No. 74 still continues to distribute from 500 to 600 pieces of reading matter per week. The Committee sends much literature to mining camps and logging camps throughout the state.

At the seventh annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners, held at Denver, May, 1900, Delegate W. W. Whiteley introduced a resolution pledging the Federation to make an effort to unify the labor movement of America. At the time this was not fully endorsed by a majority of the delegates and so failed to pass. But Time, the great unfold of all things, has thrown some light on what Comrade Whiteley had in mind. In a few words, Comrade Whiteley's resolution sought to bring about in the labor world one union of all the workers. It may be hoped that this purpose may some day be realized. Such a movement is

needed not only on national lines, but international as well. It must be organized along the lines upon which the capitalist class is organized.

At the same convention of the W. F. of M., there were introduced two other resolutions of great interest. One was that the W. F. of M. take up the work of distributing literature over the whole territory covered by the Federation. This work was to be supported by setting aside a per cent of the income of the W. F. of M. The other resolution purposed to call the attention of the delegates and of the membership of the W. F. of M. to the advisability of establishing a college wherein the sons and daughters of the miners could be educated so as to be able to instruct the members of their own class. The Rand School of Social Science, located in New York City, is the best illustration of what can be thus accomplished by the working class. The workers should found, in various parts of the country, institutions similar to the one referred to, where sound knowledge upon the social movement might be imparted.

The old form of labor organization is passing away. With it goes the old organizer with his obsolete methods. "Get together" was his rallying cry. But his organization lacked the cement of intelligence which is necessary to make the parts adhere.

Our plans were to have a State Educational Conference composed of delegates from the local unions throughout the state. This conference was to confine itself wholly to educational work. Each union was to have a separate educational committee to select such reading matter and speakers as might be desired by the Local. There were, also, to be county organizations. Finally, the state organizations were to be united in a great National Educational Bureau.

Long experience in the labor movement has made me cognizant of the fact that we must specialize the work. There are organizers who are gifted with peculiar ability to assemble the workers and perfect an organization. But the best organizer I have ever met cannot instruct the workers in the profound matters which need understanding before the movement will yield its largest results.

Of course, not all cities in America are like Butte. That great mining town contains ten thousand men connected with the mining industry. The workers come and go, hence it is an excellent place to propagate industrial unionism and Socialism. Through the smeltermen going from Butte and Anaconda the seeds of revolutionary working class Socialism have been carried as upon the four winds of the heavens. They have established in remote mining camps and logging camps movements such as they have left behind them in Butte and Anaconda.

A word must be said concerning the Laborers' Union and the Miners' Union at Butte. Their work on the educational field has been similar to that of No. 74. The former local has long been active in this way. The latter has more lately come to its period of sound development. Miners' Union No. 1, of Butte, has a larger membership than any other local union in the country. It is in a position

to accomplish much good for the working class.

One man deserves to be remembered particularly in connection with this movement of ten and fifteen years ago. The name of the late Martin Elliott is the one that will be remembered longest and with deepest gratitude by the workers of Montana. He was in the great A. R. U. strike with Eugene Debs in 1894. Coming to Montana he took up the work of circulating literature. This was a hazardous and disagreeable task at that time. But Martin Elliott was a true revolutionist. Woodstock jail had no terrors for him. He was the pioneer in the educational work which has been described.

Reflection upon our early labors in Montana and the thought that it was not in vain recalls to mind a line from "Onward," by Florence Glendenning:

"From the peaks of lofty mountains,
Where sets the western sun,
Come a unison of voices
In praise of work well done."

ARE YOU A SOCIALIST?

BY

MARY E. MARCY

IF YOU working men and women understood what Socialism really is and means you would flock into the Socialist movement like a policeman going out to get his share in a graft divide. You would scheme just as hard for the advancement of the Socialist movement as any capitalist ever schemed and sweat and fought for profits. You would cling to Socialism like a starving dog hangs to a bone, **BECAUSE SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY HOPE IN THE WORLD FOR THE WORKING CLASS.**

But you are an intelligent workingman. You have been fooled too long to be satisfied with WORDS. You want proofs. You want to know now what Socialism proposes to do. You want to be SHOWN.

Socialism is the international movement of the working class to abolish the

wage system. It is a revolutionary movement **OF THE WORKERS, BY the workers and FOR the workers.** And these workers are not to be side-tracked by anything under the heavens.

They propose that every working man and every working woman shall get the full value of the things they make. They do not intend to leave any rake-off or profits or velvet for those who do not work.

You know that you work for a boss because he owns the factory or the mine or the mill in which you work. If he were a penniless workingman and your father had died leaving you the owner of the mill or the factory **HE WOULD HAVE COME TO YOU FOR A JOB.** You would be his master. He would have to work for you or for some other boss in order to get wages to **LIVE.**

The man who works for wages is a slave. He is worse than a slave, for a slave can always look to his master to feed, clothe and house him. The wage-worker is forced to get a job—to sell his working strength to a boss or beg, starve or steal.

Men and women can never be free or independent as long as they have to beg the idlers for a chance to work. The man who owns your job owns you. Generally he will pay you barely enough to live on, while he keeps for himself all the things you make.

And we workers make everything in the world. There is nothing fine, valuable, beautiful, or useful that is used by men and women, no matter who they are, that is not made by the hands and the brains of workingmen or women.

But we are not permitted to enjoy these things. The bosses claim them all. They only give to us (in wages) enough to eke out a poor existence.

The whole secret of our slavery lies in the fact that a few people OWN THE FACTORIES, the MINES, the MILLS, the LANDS and the RAILROADS.

Socialism proposes that the workers who operate the industries shall OWN

them collectively—that men and women shall *work for themselves* and shall own the things they make without DIVIDING UP with any idle property owners. Socialism proposes that the workers themselves shall be the collective owners of the factories, mines, mills, lands and railroads.

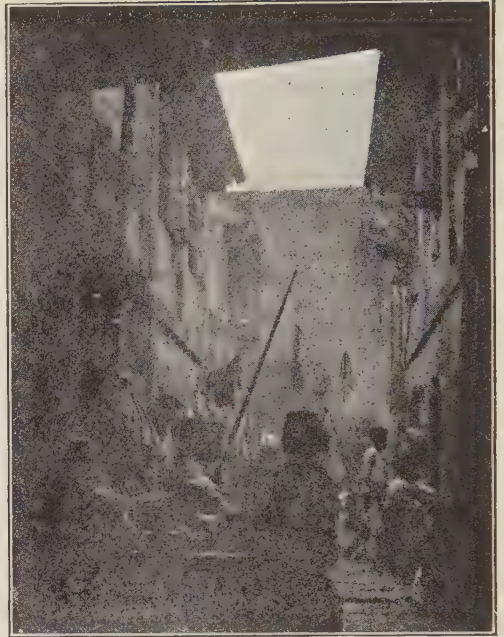
When you are joint owner of a mine, you will always have a job in that mine. And the coal or gold you dig will be your own property and not the property of any BOSS.

This is Socialism in a nutshell. If you are a miserable workman living from hand to mouth and in constant fear of losing your job, it ought to sound good to you.

Socialism will give every worker a job and every idler a chance to do some useful, honest work, if he wants to share in the good things workingmen and women produce.

Study Socialism. Send for our book catalogue. Read up on this subject. Socialism is the movement of *your* class, the WORKING CLASS. Join it and help yourself and every other workingman and woman to free themselves from wage-slavery.





MANILA'S SHAME

BY

HENRY FLURY

"PEARL OF THE ORIENT," is the name by which Manila is designated by enterprising merchants and those who profit by the growth of the city; and Manila is a fair city—in part. It's hospitality is signal—in places, and its progress, commercially, and its healthfulness are increasing. But let the traveler turn aside from the beaten ruts of a Cook's Tourist itinerary and he will find the same old disease eating at the most vital part of the city—the masses—that he finds in western "civilization." I put the word civilization in quotation because it is the only way that I can express a sneer through the many miles between us.

Why should we boast of this thing we call "civilization?" Is it because it spells progress—intellectual and moral? Is it because we have invented a lot of cunning mechanical devices called machinery to do the work of many men, though incidentally

leading them into slavery? Is it because we have succeeded in getting poor, frail humanity to herd in droves, under conditions that a wild beast would not tolerate? Civilization tames men. It makes them docile. Go with me up into the wild man's country, into Bontoc among the uncivilized hill tribes of northern Luzon. Do you find anything so depressing or squalid as depicted by these photographs I have taken in the heart of Manila? No!

What then, or who then, is responsible? What is the matter? It is a bad system, that is all—the capitalist system which says that humanity means nothing if it does not stand for profits and dividends. Where is the heart, where is the social conscience of Manila? Can the beautiful suburbs of the Ermita or Malate districts where the elite live compensate for the canker in the bosom of this society?

I have been reproved by a clergyman

friend of mine for idealizing the savage. I have lived with the Igorots and with the "civilized" folks—both elite and "submerged" and I can only say that the savage is freer and better off than his city

brother. What then is a remedy for civilization? A return to savagery? No; but a saner understanding of what constitutes life and intelligent revolt against the crimes of "civilization."

HOW TO AGITATE IN THE OPEN AIR

BY

SOL FIELDMAN

MANY told how. Few took notice. Let it be told again.

MEETING PLACE.

Avoid: Cobblestoned streets; elevated railroads; railroad and street car crossings; hospitals; schools when in session; hotels; dark streets; unfrequented streets.

Don't expect the speaker to speak against the wind. It dries the speaker's throat, and makes him hoarse. The audience does not hear in front. Crowd collects in rear, annoying and disconcerting the speaker.

Find: a centrally located but quiet place that makes speaking easy, and helps conserve the speaker's strength. A wall 50 or 100 feet in front of the speaker is the best help for the voice.

THE CROWD.

Don't expect the chairman to shout up a crowd. Don't expect the speaker to shout up one either. Don't expect a crowd to come without asking.

Advertise your meeting place.

Make it permanent, and make it well known. See that at least 10% of the local members attend, and let them be there on time. See that comrades don't start half a dozen little discussion meetings around the speaker while the meeting is on.

Don't put too much in an advertisement. You cannot write a pamphlet in a two-inch space. Keep on advertising your headquarters.

THE PLATFORM.

Don't put the speaker on a rickety box. Don't put him on a tiny, frail platform. Don't put him on a tumble-down wagon.

Don't let the meeting look like a Salvation Army turn-out.

Get a carpenter to build a large, solid platform, that can be detached or folded up. Get a banner with the words SOCIALIST PARTY in big letters. Have it behind the speaker; it acts as a sounding-board, as well as calling attention to the nature of the meeting.

THE LITERATURE.

Don't have a meeting without literature.

Have a half a dozen literature sellers, preferably women.

Don't sell punk. Don't try to push 20 books at one meeting. Don't distract a crowd by selling or distributing literature during the speech. Have three or at most four good books from \$1 down. *Have real Socialist books on sale.* Have a chairman who knows the contents of the books, and can talk about them interestingly and with enthusiasm. Sell literature *after* the speech. Make a special effort to secure subs. for dailies, weeklies and monthlies, and have the necessary blanks.

Remember we are an *educational* Party.

THE SPEAKER.

Don't have more than one speech at a meeting. Don't have a bad speaker on the platform. Don't have a meeting if you cannot get a good speaker. Don't have a speaker who antagonizes the crowd, or talks a lot about himself.

Have a good speaker, who knows his subject and knows how to handle it. Get

a speaker who makes the crowd feel he has got the goods.

Don't have a speaker whose message is a series of funny stories. Don't have a clown for a speaker. The message of Socialism is serious.

THE CHAIRMAN.

Don't have a chairman who mistakes himself for the principal speaker. Don't have a chairman who antagonizes the crowd at the outset. Don't have a chairman who answers or comments on questions addressed to the speaker. Don't have a chairman who can't talk about the literature.

Have a chairman who knows his business. Have a chairman who co-operates with the speaker and the comrades. Have a chairman who appeals for new members.

THE SPEECH.

Don't overload the speech with facts and figures. They cannot be digested. Don't say state ownership is "Socialistic"; don't talk rot. Don't try to explain the whole Socialist philosophy in a single lecture. Don't be funny at the expense of your audience. Don't be rude to a man

who asks a question. Witty retorts may cause audiences to laugh, but they seldom answer a question. Don't make a lot of jokes and call it a speech. Don't weary your audiences by speaking too long.

Speak clearly and to the point. Don't eat a heavy meal before speaking. It interferes with clear thinking and enthusiasm. It causes anxiety, nervousness and hoarseness. Don't drink water while speaking or immediately after speaking. It congeals the vocal organs. Eat milk chocolate before and after speaking. Always have a piece ready for use in your pocket. It forms a coating over the vocal organs that soothes them, and imparts a sweetness to the voice. Don't allow comrades to talk to you or entertain you into sickness or inefficiency. Better be a live agitator than a dead hero. Don't discuss Party squabbles in an agitation speech. Don't spend more time on indicting Capitalism than you do on expounding Socialism. Try to remember the difficulties you had in becoming a Socialist, so that you may the better know how to make Socialists of others. Don't think yourself superior to those you are speaking to.



MEMBER OF LOCAL, WILLISTON, NORTH DAKOTA, AND COMRADE WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

EDITORIAL

Our Unconscious Allies.—Some of us were Populists twenty years ago, and we had a curious superstition. We thought the Plutocrats were a compact, disciplined body of men with a baleful and relentless purpose to crush out the liberties of the American people (we thought the people had liberties), and to establish a despotism. Of course, we had never heard of determinism, and industrial evolution was to us a meaningless term if we had heard it, so our superstition seemed necessary to explain the facts. Most of us have outgrown it, but here and there it crops out in the mind of some one otherwise intelligent, and destroys his peace of mind when he examines current happenings which are really full of bright promise for the future of the working class. It is not in the least true that the capitalist class as a whole is animated by an aggressive spirit of conquest, impelling it to crush out the working class. On the contrary, its members are mainly animated by a desire for greater individual profits, regardless of who else may lose. And in their search for these greater profits they are helping on the revolution, each in his own way.

Our Friends the Magnates.—The magnates are the successful capitalists; those who are intelligently applying modern industrial processes to large-scale production, or, to speak more accurately, who are, by their ownership of land, railroads and machinery, utilizing the hands and brains of the people who are actually doing this great work. These magnates and their servants are quickly doing away with the wastes of competition; they are rapidly making individual enterprise impossible in all important fields of production; they are perfecting and applying vast machines which crush out the craft unions and tend more and more to put all workers on one common level. And not content with this, they are today, with an almost incredible short-sightedness, waging a fierce war against the remnants of the craft unions, which, if they only knew it, have been and might still be their strongest bulwark against the rising tide of revolution. Thus the magnates have

accomplished more for the Socialist movement than a hundred thousand Socialist agitators could have done. They have themselves convinced the rank and file of the craft unions that their old theory of the community of interest between capitalist and labor is a lie, that the class war is on in earnest, and that new tactics must be found to meet a new situation.

Our Friends the Reformers.—The reformers are for the most part little capitalists, whose resources are too slender or whose energies are too weak to compete with the magnates at their own game. Twenty years ago they were staunch individualists, holding that competition was the life of trade, and asking only to be let alone by the government, except in such trifling matters as keeping out foreign competitors by high tariffs and providing policemen to club strikers. But taught by defeat, these little capitalists have learned that their best chance of survival is in using the powers of government, municipal, state and national, to help them fight the magnates on something like equal terms. Twenty years ago government ownership of the industries was thought to be a baseless dream of crack-brained Socialists; now it looks like an inevitable development of the near future. But all this does not mean that the work of the Socialist movement has been accomplished, on the contrary it means that the supreme struggle is ahead of us, and that the issue is at last becoming clear.

Government Ownership Is Not Socialism.—It is not necessarily even a step toward Socialism. Socialism means that the workers shall own and control the machinery of production, and dispose of the product as they like. Government ownership may mean, and if administered by the Republican or the Democratic party it will mean, that the workers in the government industries will get the value of their labor power and no more, and that the immense surplus produced by their labor will be controlled by the capitalist class.

What Socialists Must Do.—We have

said enough of the wastes of competition. The capitalists understand these wastes better than we do and they will remedy them. We shall need to say but little more about public ownership of industry. It is coming; nothing can stop it. We need to put all our strength into helping every wage-worker to understand that he receives in wages a small fraction of his product, and that he can get it ALL if he will ORGANIZE. Let us help them see that their own individual interests are bound up with the interests of the whole working class; that to get what they produce the whole working class must unite, must take control of the government, must take control of INDUSTRY, that this is the revolution for which we are struggling, and that nothing less than revolution will bring any permanent benefit to the workers. Our unconscious allies are doing the rest of our work for us; these things we must do for ourselves or they will remain undone.

Defeat Referendum B.—The *Rebel*, a bright little Socialist weekly just started by Comrade T. A. Hickey, at Hallettsville, Texas, contains an able editorial

argument against "Referendum B," which we would gladly reprint in full but for the pressure on our space. He calls attention to a remarkable thing that has happened in the Socialist party this year. A little Texas local initiated a national referendum that carried triumphantly. It provides that all national party officers shall be elected *annually* and *shall not serve more than two terms*. The party officials and their friends fought it bitterly but failed to defeat it. Now, although no election has yet been held under its provisions, they have started a new referendum to reverse it. On this action *The Rebel* comments:

It is a piece of unparalleled impudence on the part of these officials who started this latest referendum. They should realize that the motion when it carried should have been given a fair trial. Why plunge the party into turmoil now? We are on the eve of the most important campaign in the party's history. Shall we go into it with new officers and unbroken ranks and a spirit of growing solidarity, or shall we be torn with dissension by those who have refused to bow to the party's will? Vote NO on Referendum B. Get out a full vote and let our grand party take advanced ground on the way to a Social Democracy.



LITERATURE

Readers of the Review will please observe that Charles H. Kerr & Company sell only their own publications, and can not undertake to supply books of other publishers nor to answer questions about them.

Capitalism's Conspiracy in California. Parallel of the Kidnaping of Labor Leaders, Colorado-California. By Frank E. Wolfe. Published by the Author, Colegrove, Calif. Paper, 10c.

In a pamphlet entitled "Capitalism's Conspiracy in California," the second edition of which is just off the press, Frank E. Wolfe shows in striking fashion the parallel of the attempts of the Mine Owners' Association to hang Haywood and his comrades in Idaho and the Steel Trust to effect the judicial murder of the McNamara brothers in California. It is a painstaking work, covering the ground thoroughly and presenting many interesting comparisons which heretofore have been overlooked. Comrade Wolfe was especially well fitted, both by his long service in the labor movement and his newspaper experience, to prepare such a work most effectively.—From *Revolt*.

The Fasting Cure. By Upton Sinclair. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York, N. Y. Price \$1.00.

While many of us may strongly disagree with Mr. Sinclair's views upon the virtue of fasting, we will read his book. Doubtless the Leisure Classes may find food for sensible thought in the Fasting Cure, but our friends proletarian are more than likely to take it with a grain of salt. Advocacy of the Fasting Cure among man and women who are struggling in a tragic effort to keep up the mad pace set by employers of labor will never be popular. Wage-workers are too busy trying to secure steady jobs and regular room and board to be troubled by the ills and pains caused from having too much. The Fasting Cure should have a wide circulation among the rich, but it has no place in the literature of the working class. Most of us would like to experiment with a FEASTING CURE.

Le Socialisme Ouvrier, par Hubert Lagardelle. Paris, V. Giard & E. Briere, 16, Rue Soufflot. Price 4 francs 50 centimes.

A literal translation of the title of this book would be misleading. It really

means what Comrade Haywood calls "Socialism with its working clothes on," that is, industrial unionism, or syndicalism as it is called in Europe. Hubert Lagardelle is the editor of the *Mouvement Socialiste*, a Paris magazine, and this book of 424 pages is for the most part made up of articles which appeared in that magazine at various times from 1898 to 1910. It also contains addresses delivered by Lagardelle at various Socialist conventions and other gatherings. Scattered through the volume are many passages of immense interest and value which explain the fundamentals of industrial unionism and discuss Socialist party tactics from the viewpoint of the proletariat.

An Address to the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, by James H. Maurer, Representative from Berks County, in Opposition to the State Constabulary.

This is one of the finest pieces of propaganda literature we have ever read. Nothing else so clearly and simply explains the class character of the Army and the Courts. Comrade Maurer says in part: "The real object of this institution (the department of state police) is not to protect life and property, but is organized solely for the purpose of intimidating the workmen of Pennsylvania, at such times as the masters of our industries make living conditions unbearable."

Comrade Maurer set future Socialists who may be elected to office a shining example of what to do or try to do for the working class. The police and the army are the forces with which Capital holds wage-workers in subjection, and no man who has ever been on strike will fail to understand the attitude of the Socialist who advocates the abolition of these two institutions that form such terrible clubs in the hands of the owners of the factories, the mines and the mills.

The price of the pamphlet is not stated, but we think it safe to say that a copy can be obtained by sending 10 cents in stamps to James H. Maurer, House of Representatives, Harrisburg, Pa.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Statistics of the World's Labor Movement.—The International Labor Secretariat has published its report for the year 1909. This report is not as inclusive as might be desired. Asia, Africa, and South America are not at all represented in it, while the United States is the only country of North America for which figures are given. The Russian movement is just now struggling against such tremendous difficulties that it was found impossible to gather statistics with regard to it. Moreover the figures given for various countries are not sufficiently inclusive. For the United States, for example, only unions connected with the American Federation of Labor are represented. Nevertheless this report, covering as it does twenty countries, gives the best general view of the world's labor movement which is obtainable. On that account it seems worth while to set down for REVIEW readers the general summary of the statistics which it brings together. The following table gives the numbers reported as belonging to the labor unions of the various countries in 1909, excepting in the case of England, where the figure for 1908 was the latest obtainable: Germany, 2,447,578; England, 2,406,746; United States, 1,710,433; France, 977,350; Italy, 783,538; Austria, 455,401; Sweden, 148,649; Netherlands, 145,000; Belgium, 138,928; Denmark, 121,295; Switzerland, 112,613; Hungary, 85,266; Norway, 44,223; Spain, 40,984; Finland, 24,928; Bulgaria, 18,753; Roumania, 8,515; Bosnia-Herzegovina, 4,470; Servia, 4,462; Croatia, 4,361. These sums total 9,583,493 as against 8,669,843 reported the previous year. Of course, the great apparent gain is partly due to greater completeness in the report. If Australia, with 239,293 members, and Argentine, with 22,437, had been included the number would have been brought up to nearly ten millions. The actual number of unionized workers is much beyond this figure. In the amount expended on strikes and lock-outs Germany heads the list with Sweden, Eng-

land, and Austria next, in the order given.

Austria. Parliamentary Election.—It was a great day for the Austrian empire when the new male suffrage law was passed. Austrian patriots, if there are any real patriots in Austria, had high hopes of building a united nation with the new parliament at the center of it. And the Austrian working-class thought that at last it was coming into its own. That was in 1907. Since then the new parliament has had a stormy session. Finally, two years before its regular term was out, a new election was ordered by imperial decree. This new election was held during the middle of June, and the results of it indicate in a very interesting manner the condition of affairs in the great polyglot empire.

An election was necessary because the parliament on which such high hopes had been built was an absolute failure. And the parliament was a failure because it was designed to represent, and did actually represent, the race differences of the empire rather than the class differences. The new electoral law, which has come to be known as the Bienerth law, on account of Herr Bienerth's large share in the responsibility for it, divides the electorate according to nations. Each of the numerous nations composing the empire is divided into parties according to its particular make-up or its economic condition. Thus it happens that, according to one Austrian statistician, there took part in the recent election about 5,000 candidates representing 51 parties. It is easy to understand how the representatives of so many different parties, speaking various languages, and representing opposing interests, might find it difficult to do any sort of consistent legislative work.

For one thing, this parliament has failed absolutely to make any stand against the imperial government in the matter of the annexation of foreign provinces or increase of military expenses. In fact the grant of a budget largely devoted to military purposes was about all

that was accomplished. A workingman's insurance law was what the people of Austria had hoped for. But even if the session had not been adjourned, neither this law nor any other measure of real importance would have been passed. The people of Austria are beginning to have a taste of Democracy. They see by this time that voting does not cure all the ills of life.

The new electoral law was designed to emphasize and perpetuate national differences. The Austrian government has well learned the lesson embodied in the old proverb, "Divide and rule." The thing which the June election shows most clearly is that economic progress is slowly but surely defeating the purposes of the government. In spite of all the provisions made against them class lines showed very distinctly in the results of the polling. The strongest parties in the former parliament were the Christian Social (not Christian Socialist) and the German Liberals (*Deutsch Freiheitlich*). The first of these is the clerical party and the second the German national party. The second is, of course, the most direct representative of big business. The Socialist group numbered 87. These 87 Socialists represented various national Socialist parties, but they formed a united group, so the Socialists could boast the only real imperial party. The size of this group was partly due to temporary conditions. It was largely through Socialist agitation that the new electoral law was passed. This naturally gave the party prestige. More than this, since class lines had not yet been emphasized on the political field, when it came to the second elections many non-Socialist votes were thrown to the Socialist candidates.

But now all this has come to an end. Premier Bienerth long ago gave the word, "Anything to destroy the Socialists!" For in the late deceased parliament the Socialists fought hard and consistently against militarism and in favor of working-class legislation. This fight has forced the government to draw class lines and fight in the open. So in the election just held the campaign was a struggle between the Socialist parties and all the field. Our comrades had to meet a campaign of slander and misrepresentation.

No personalities were too mean or too false to be used as arguments. And, strangest of all as an anti-Socialist argument, the great cooperative bakery at Vienna was described to show that Socialists favor trusts and therefore must be opposed to the interests of the poor. This representation is said to have been supported by large capitalist bread concerns.

When all these circumstances are taken into account the results of the election are very satisfactory. The Socialist parties gained about 50,000 votes but the number of their seats was reduced from 87 to 80. Our Austrian comrades have the satisfaction of knowing that all their representatives were elected by Socialist votes. For in the second elections all the other parties combined against them.

The most striking feature of the election was the defeat of the Christian Social party. Its group was reduced from 96 to 76, and in Vienna it was practically annihilated. Vienna has 33 representatives. Of these this party controlled 20; it controlled, also, the city government. So firm was its grip that no one even hoped to defeat it. But the seemingly impossible was accomplished. The number of "Christian" representatives was reduced to three. The Socialists gained a large part of what the "Christians" lost.

Italy. The Ideals of the Italian Labor Movement.—Italy is the world's best laboratory of social and economic life. In Italy, even more than in France, social forces play against one another undisguised. The varying interests of priests, capitalists, small business men, and working people are represented by parties and societies which wage bitter and relentless warfare. More than this, an extraordinary number of people seem to understand the conflict, to appreciate the importance of it and the nature of its possible results. Nobody in Italy imagines, as so many in this country seem to do, that society is organized to stay. The majority seem imbued with the consciousness that out of the struggles of the present something new is to be born. And the Italian working-class is very much alive; it appreciates the part it has to play. Its members, however, are not at all agreed as to the right tactics and form of organization. On this account a Socialist or labor con-

vention held in Italy is commonly more enlightened than any other gathering of the kind. The Italian workers always give one the impression that they are getting down to the roots of the whole matter of the class war.

The second convention of the Italian Federation of Labor was no exception to the rule. This gathering met at Padua on May 24. The first thing about its make-up to strike an American is the fact that the largest group of workers represented were the agrarians. There were 121,792 of these. All the industrial workers together numbered only 180,608. The unions of southern Italy, with some 60,000 members, were not represented. It is to be understood that no individual or union can belong to the federation unless it is connected with the central organization of its industry.

As far as the various wings of the labor movement are concerned, they were all represented. For the first time the so-called "intransigent" Socialists sent a delegation. In addition the republicans were there, and for the first time the syn-

dicalists did not refrain from voting. The relative strength of these various groups can be judged from the vote taken on resolutions relative to the report of the executive committee. Of course delegates voted the official strength of the unions which they represented. The resolution of the reformists was supported by 117,344 votes, the syndicalists by 53,091, the intransigent by 10,017, the republican by 2,517. The present executive committee is reformist in its tendency, therefore these numbers indicate that it practically received a vote of confidence.

The syndicalists, however, exercised far more influence over the convention than the figures quoted above would lead one to think. There were two chief matters up for decision: these were the federation's attitude toward the cooperative movement and the peculiar agrarian problem of the Romagna region. There were, in the main, three points of view represented in the treatment of these problems. The republicans represent the interests of small business men, and, at any rate, their number is so small that they

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may safely be left out of the account. The three really important points of view were those of the reformists, the intransigents, and the syndicalists. The reformists are in favor of improvement of the condition of labor through the activity of the government; and the government, according to their belief, must be captured by means of the formation of a moderate, reforming labor party. The ideals of this faction are not clear; their notion seems to be merely to improve the physical condition of the working-class. The intransigent Socialists believe to the limit in a revolutionary Socialist party. They want the working-class to control the government and the government to control all the various industries of the nation. The syndicalists believe that the workers of each industry should control that industry, and that among the various industries there should be free play, competition, with no higher social control.

A resolution approving in rather general terms of the cooperative movement and directing the executive committee of the federation to establish definite official relations with it was supported by the reformists and intransigents but opposed by the syndicalists. The "Romagna question" was rather more complicated. In the Romagna some 35,000 hectares of land are worked by men who take them "on shares." Only 12,000 are worked by day laborers. Those working on shares developed a system of exchanging labor, which left many of the day laborers out of employment. Finally the share workers purchased threshing machines, and thereby the miserable laborers were made more miserable than ever. Then, through their organizations, they demanded that the machines be sold to them. Many of the laborers working on shares refused to grant this demand. They were boycotted by the labor organization.

For the most part the reformists and intransigent Socialists were opposed to the ownership of the machines by the unions. According to their view the workers on shares are, after all, merely workers on a yearly contract getting their wages in the form of products, and, therefore, to turn the machines over to the

unions would be to give one set of workers a chance to exploit another set. The syndicalists, on the other hand, were strongly in favor of this arrangement. In fact, this represents to them an ideal condition. "Give each set of workers control of their machines," say they; "then we shall have a free play of industrial forces, competition of industrial groups, and this is the condition which makes for social evolution." The problem was finally turned over to the executive committee for decision.

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NEWS AND VIEWS



PART OF THE 50,000 PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED THE SOCIALIST PICNIC AT RIVERVIEW PARK, CHICAGO.

Grand Junction Socialists All Right. We are glad to announce that when the so-called Socialist mayor of Grand Junction issued his mandate ordering all unemployed men out of that city the members of the S. P. local took up a big collection and invited our friends to a glorious banquet. Of such is the grand old Army of the Revolution and the rank and file of Grand Junction know whom to throw in their lot with. But the mayor remained obdurate and insisted that every "hobo" depart from his domain after the big S. P. feed. All of which goes to show that there is not much in a NAME. You may know a Red by his deeds. The rank and file are all right, always have been right and always will be. It is high time the Grand Junction Socialists showed their so-called mayor that he has not delivered the goods to the working class and shoved him back into the oblivion where he belongs.

Death of an Old Fighter. From a resolution passed by Local San Francisco: Whereas in the recent death of Aaron Goldman, a socialist in active service for twenty years, this city has lost one of its valiant soldiers. We desire to express our fraternal sympathy with the bereaved friends and relatives of comrade Goldman. Therefore be it resolved that Local San Francisco of the Socialist Party hereby expresses its recognition of the loyal services of Comrade Goldman to the cause of Socialism. And further be it resolved that this resolution be enscribed in the minutes of this

organization and a copy thereof be sent to the Socialist press. Local S. F. S. P., Wm. McDevitt, Selig Schulberg and Chris Solomonson, Committee.

Coming to America. H. Scott Bennett has the reputation of being the greatest orator in Australia. For over a year he has been lecturing for the Auckland local of the New Zealand Socialist Party, the increasing audiences forcing the party to engage larger halls until the largest theater in the city had to be engaged to hold his audience. From 1,700 to 2,000 people have at times attended Comrade Bennett's meetings—an undoubted tribute to his oratorical ability.

Comrade Bennett has been associated for years with Tom Mann. He represented Ballarat in the Victorian Legislative Assembly, but labor politics were not to his liking and he resigned for the purpose of giving exclusive service to revolutionary Socialism on the lecture platform.

Our comrade is coming to America next February on a lecturing tour. His view of New Zealand and Australian politics and economics is one which should be better known in America. We hope that every comrade will have an opportunity of listening to our prospective visitor. From what we can learn from comrades who have heard Bennett talk, he is one of the most capable exponents of Socialism and Industrial Unionism known to the International movement.

Flint Flashes. The Socialists in Flint are doing big things. They have started a weekly paper devoted to the interests of the working class; purchased a printing press; increased their local membership to 200 members; are putting in a full line of revolutionary socialist literature, besides electing Jack Menton as mayor and putting in three councilmen who are keeping the nine capitalists councilmen so busy turning down proposals to benefit the wage-workers that they have become generally known as the "automatic nine." When asked for a statement of principles Comrade Hackett, who was made Police Commissioner at the last election, says, in part:

"Our program gives no quarter, asks none; our revolution means the change of ownership of industries from private to public. The worker by his ballot to control the government and take the full product of labor.

Male and female to be rewarded alike for equal service.

There will be no white slaves then.

There will be no child slaves then.

There will be no wage slaves then.

Perhaps the irony of fate took a hand to appoint me police commissioner.

Me to lay plans to capture the poor victims of a corrupt social chaos.

I would send the petty criminal to school instead of to jail, and then after educating our criminals, let them have a job with the full product of their labor.

Make useful labor be the only thing that will purchase the product of useful labor.

That is it; that is all.

Our money was not made to be used by honest people. It was made so that thieves could have something to steal and live without work.

I want to change the court room to a school room; the prison to a hospital.

That is the revolution I stand for.

And only as a revolutionary, uncompromising socialist, will I accept office, either elective or appointive.

No politics for mine.

The industrial government I shall help to establish will be a government that gives the job to the man and not the child.

Our message of hope to the worker: "The earth is yours; take it and be men."

Isn't that great?

The Soap-Boxes' number of Hope is the best yet. It is full to the brim with snappy epigrams, stories and pointed paragraphs that would make a cigar store indian sit up and think. We want to congratulate our comrades upon the get up of this little magazine that is breaking so much new ground and starting so many new people on the road to Socialism.

From San Francisco. The following motions were carried at a regular meeting of Local San Francisco, July 3rd. Moved by Schulberg that Local San Francisco censure



YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE, CHICAGO, ON THE WAY TO THE PICNIC.

State Secretary and State Executive Board for failing to submit state platform and matter pertaining to Haywood dates to a referendum vote of the membership of the state. Furthermore I stand instructed to have this motion published in the following papers: Revolt, Peoples' Paper, World, Vorwaerts and the International Socialist Review. (Signed) John Keller, Organizer Local S. F.

No Insurance for Moving Picture Operators. Comrade A. J. Lukachie, Business Agent of Local 160 I. A. T. S. E. writes us of the efforts of his organization to force the City of Cleveland administration to take some action for protecting the moving picture operators. Comrade Lukachie says the operating booths are worse than prison cells and that the boys intend to keep after the theater owners until conditions have been improved. It is becoming impossible for moving picture operators to secure insurance as the following letter to the General Agent of a Cleveland branch office goes to prove:

"E. W. Snyder, Gen. Agt., Cleveland, O.

The application of Otto C. Hauber is before us and I am sorry to advise you the same has been declined.

Operators of moving picture machines we have never considered such risks as our company would be justified in assuming. We class such occupations as extra hazardous, owing to the liability of explosion and fire and the probable inability of the operator to escape injury, owing to the close quarters in which he works.

(Signed) G. S. Stebbins, Medical Director."

We hope all the comrades of Cleveland and other points will co-operate with the boys in Cleveland. We can refuse to attend moving picture shows where the machine operators are not protected and the managers will soon bring pressure to bear on the theater owners.

Literature for the Blind. Local Rochester sends in a request for books on Socialism for the blind. Comrade Fertig, of Rochester, points out the need of such literature and we are using this method to get in touch with those who are particularly interested. We shall be glad to know of any socialist publications now being issued that fill this need.

From the Mormon Town. Comrade Cerny writes from Salt Lake City that "We sold ninety copies of the July Review at two street meetings here. J. H. Walsh, former organizer of the I. W. W. is here and we are certainly hustling things in this Mormon town."

Our Literature Agent is now selling the International Socialist Review every month and the comrades are all pleased with the revolutionary tone of your magazine. Keep up the good work.—John P. Burke, New Hampshire.

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The Maoriland Worker, published in New Zealand is a welcome addition to our reading table. It is the best thing we know of to hand to people who believe that the trade

unions and the "labor government" of New Zealand have done anything for the working class or the revolutionary movement there, because it is full of facts and splendid revolutionary propaganda. Besides advocating revolutionary politics the Maoriland Worker is doing a wonderful work for Industrial Unionism. The support the editors and contributors receive would tend to give us all a very encouraging opinion of the real revolutionary movement in New Zealand. We have taken the liberty of cribbing from a recent editorial from the Maoriland Worker in the body of this number of the Review. It is worth pasting up in your local branch headquarters.

To Solve the Problem of the Unemployed. Steadily increasing interest is being shown in the movement launched by Local Portland for a nation-wide eight-hour day in 1912. The resolutions are as follows:

"Whereas, The master class has declared war on organized labor on the Pacific Coast;

"Whereas, The capitalist organizations known as the Citizens' Alliance, the Employers' Association, the Manufacturers' Association, and other organizations of the employing class, have declared for the open shop and 'freedom of contract' pertaining to length of workday and amount of wages between the individual workers on the one hand and organized employers on the other;

"Whereas, The employing class have the undivided support of all the powers of government in their relentless war against labor;

"Whereas, The improved method of machine production is ever multiplying the vast number of the unemployed;

"Whereas, The problem of the unemployed is the greatest question confronting the nations of the world to-day, and

"Whereas, A shortening of the work day is the most powerful factor in materially solving the unemployed problem as well as providing more time for recreation, education and organization of the toiling masses;

"Be it therefore resolved, by the members of Branch 1 of Local Portland of the Socialist Party, in business meeting assembled, that we will lend all our effort, political and economic, in declaring for a nation-wide eight-hour day, said eight-hour work day commencing on May 2, 1912; said eight-hour work day to continue in force until the industrially organized workers of this nation see fit to authorize a change.

"Be it further resolved that the individual members of this branch be instructed to take this matter up in their respective unions and with their trades journals with the purpose in view of securing the aid of all branches of organized labor for a universal eight-hour day.

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the International Socialist Review, the Appeal to Reason, the Chicago Daily Socialist, and all the other Socialist papers in this country, with the request that it be published and given the widest possible publicity.

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the National Bulletin for publication, and that the National Executive Committee be requested to give it their immediate attention, and to instruct all national and state organizers and lecturers under their control to use their efforts in the furtherance of this proposition, namely, an eight-hour day in 1912."

Eight-Hour Day May, 1912.—The following comes from Detroit, Mich., from the I. W. W. local organization:

"Fellow Workers—The seriousness of the

Socialist Pennants

extra special in quality; crimson felt bearing the word SOCIALISM in artistic lettering; sell them at your meetings; decorate your local with them; regular price, sent by mail, without canes, 15 cents each; 2 for 25 cents. For \$2.00 we will send by prepaid express 1 dozen pennants with bamboo canes. Address R. B. Tobias, 118 West Kinzie St., Chicago, Ill., second floor.

REVOLT

THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

(Published Weekly, \$1.00 a Year, Six Months for 50 Cents)

ARTICLES by William English Walling, Frank Bohn, Ed Moore, Jack London, William D. Haywood, Eugene V. Debs, Rose Pastor Stokes, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Austin Lewis, William McDevitt, Anna Strunsky Walling, Charles Edward Russell and many other writers of note. The editorials by Cloudesley Johns already have attracted widespread attention, and should be read by every one interested in the real development of the proletarian revolution. Address all communications to

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unemployed problem challenges the sincerity of every organization that speaks in the name of labor. It will not be ignored; it clamors insistently for recognition; it is our problem, and its solution rests with us. We cannot avoid it.

"Behold the ever increasing thousands of our class who are the victims of the social curse, who wander shelterless and unprovided for vainly seeking some one to hire them. Consider, for it is our homes that are threatened when the bread winner is forced into involuntary idleness. It is our working class youth that are driven, under the pressure of adverse economic circumstances to lives of crime. It is our working class manhood, under its blighting influence, that is branded with the mark of beggary and pauperism. It feeds our working class womanhood into the maw of the red light wherein, gratifying the lust of the profligate and libertine, they seek to provide themselves with the things of life. Our wives, our daughters, our sisters, our sweethearts often, how often driven to choose between starvation and dishonor. And the responsibility for it we, organized workers, cannot shirk. We must endeavor to realize it. We must attempt to meet and overcome unemployment.

"The lot of the unemployed may be at any time our portion; the danger that has claimed its victims in our class threatens us and those dependent on us. The lines are not so fixed as to guarantee immunity to any. We are constantly interchanging places, now in employment, again out of a job. The length of our term of idleness determining the extent of our suffering. Panics have repeatedly spread desolation among us, and we should have learned to look to and depend only upon ourselves for relief. Any advantage that has ever accrued to the working-class has been the result of organization.

"In considering unemployment we need not be swayed entirely by sentiment. The disemployed workers constitute a menace to a realization of any demands we might make for improved conditions in our working places. They seriously threaten our ability to maintain what we already hold. The unemployed are held over us by the employers as a lash to whip us on to greater efforts. The presence of the unemployed job-seekers at the gates of the workshops tend to intimidate us, to render us more docile, industrious, and disinclined to rebel.

"Let us make an effort to lessen the pressure of the unemployed by decreasing the number of hours that constitute the working day. Let us disregard every imaginary line that divides us, and unite in demanding an eight-hour day throughout the United States after May 1, 1912.

"The worker must have a job to live, he must have a place attending the machinery of production, it is up to you, us, to provide him with it. It is your fight, our fight. It is a common cause and merits a common support. We face a crisis, let us give an earnest of our

willingness and ability to meet it. Let us prove that labor knows its duty and will do it."—ED. DWYER, Secretary Eight-Hour committee.

Working up a Review Trade. Comrade H. Martin of Berlin, Ont., sends us a sample card advertising the Review which his small son, Garnet Martin, is using to interest the workers of that city and to increase the sale of The Fighting Magazine. Comrade Martin writes: "Garnet received the forty June Reviews Wednesday afternoon. The same evening I accompanied him up on the main thoroughfare and assisted him in breaking the ground, pointing out individuals to approach. He

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5. From Revolution to Revolution, Herron.
6. Revolutionary Unionism, Debs.
7. Wage Labor and Capital, Marx.
8. The Man Under the Machine, Simons.
9. The Mission of the Working Class, Vail.
10. Origin of Great Private Fortunes, Myers.
11. Socialist Songs, Morris and Others.
12. Socialism and Primitive Christianity, Brown.
13. Rational Prohibition, Young.
14. Prison Labor, Eugene V. Debs.
15. How I Acquired My Millions, Corey.
16. A Christian View of Socialism, Strobell.
17. You Railroad Men! Debs.
18. Parable of the Water Tank, Bellamy.
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37. The Issue, Eugene V. Debs.
38. Easy Lessons in Socialism, Leffingwell.
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41. Forces That Make for Socialism, Spargo.
42. Civic Evils, Reed.
43. Craft Unionism, Eugene V. Debs.
44. The Scab, Jack London.
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46. Woman and Socialism, May Walden.
47. Revolution, Jack London.
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50. Marx on Cheapness.

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handed the prospective buyer his card and sold twenty-one copies in two hours. Before the close of the week, he had disposed of the entire forty. I believe these little cards are a splendid idea. They work well here. Make an appeal through the columns of the Review for boys and girls in every town and village to sell bundles of the Review and in a short time you can have a circulation of 200,000." He continues:

Show your boys and girls how to sell copies of the Review on the street. Help them to circulate revolutionary literature. You will be surprised to find how many copies a boy or girl can dispose of in two or three evenings. They can earn spending or vacation money and circulate the right stuff." Comrade Martin has the right idea. Spread it around and get your local interested.

A Doctor Who Wants to Govern People.—In your criticism on Prof. Fites' lecture, April number, I wish to criticise the critic. You say We, meaning the Socialists. "We seek control of these governments for the sake of abolishing them as governments, and at the same time abolishing the capitalists as capitalists. The state under working class control will not govern persons, it will enable each individual through his share of co-operative labor to provide himself with the necessities and comforts of life, and it will leave the individual free to regulate his own morals."

Now, my dear sir, I must have been studying Socialism for years with a beclouded brain. I was under the impression that we Socialists were teaching the people pure democracy, a government of, for, and by the people, but a *government*, and a government that *controls*. I can see no difference between your doctrine and the anarchistic; you both of you teach no government control. According to your criticism when each person is able to provide himself with the "necessities and comforts of life" he will then be perfectly satisfied. In other words, if a man's stomach is filled, his morals will be better. I think to the contrary. The morals of today although held in check by government laws, are better as a rule among the working man than among his brothers who have more of the comforts of life. No, my dear comrade, we can not leave the individual free to regulate himself. We must have laws to regulate, but they must be just, they must be fair to all, they must not be made for a class but for all.

You say that he speaks of "the Socialistic doctrine that the best government governs everything." Then regret that many self-styled Socialists talk and write in a way to spread just such misapprehensions. Comrade, I wish all, including yourself, would talk and write that way. We wish to keep as far away from anarchistic theories as possible. We put up the claim that under Socialism we will have the best government for the people, all of the people. Now, I will state my views on Socialism. They are very simple. I believe in the co-operative commonwealth that we have public ownership of all general

monopolies, that we abolish the capitalist but not the capital, that we have a government by the masses and not by the classes, that our motto shall be the golden rule, that our working rule shall be majority rule. That our laws govern one and all alike. I shall always oppose anarchism or any tendency towards anarchy. I think Socialism and anarchism are diametrically opposed to each other.

Yours for the welfare of the people,

Dr. A. J. Krehbiel.

(Life is too short to spend in arguing with a man who calls himself a Socialist but who clings to his capitalistic ideas of government. Fortunately, wage-workers do not yearn after judges and policemen to regulate their conduct, and fortunately wage-workers constitute by far the strongest and most important element in the Socialist Party. The one immediate danger before us is that if people like Doctor Krehbiel are allowed to moralize unchallenged in the name of the Socialist Party, the wage-workers may conclude that the party is only another set of would-be rulers and exploiters, and will prefer to stay on the outside. We can get along very well without the Doctor, but we can not get along at all without the wage-workers whom he would like to govern.)

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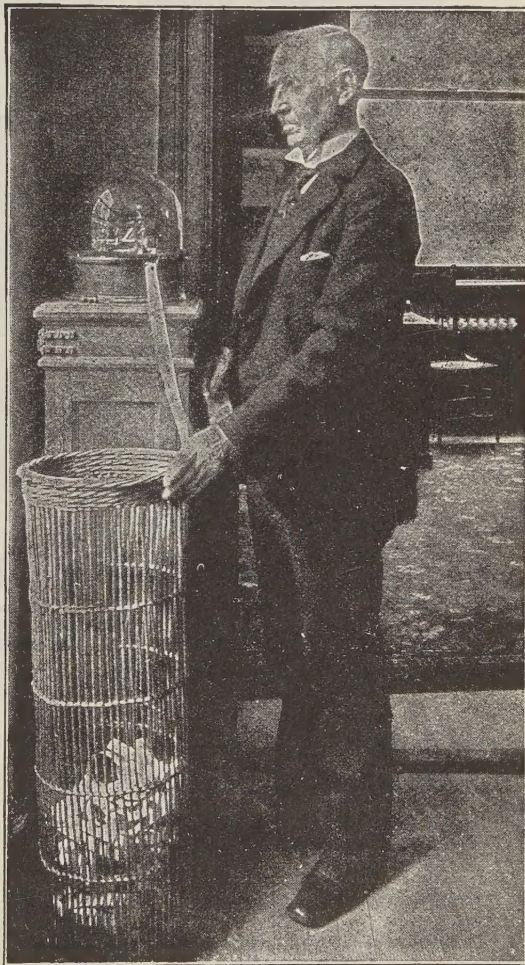
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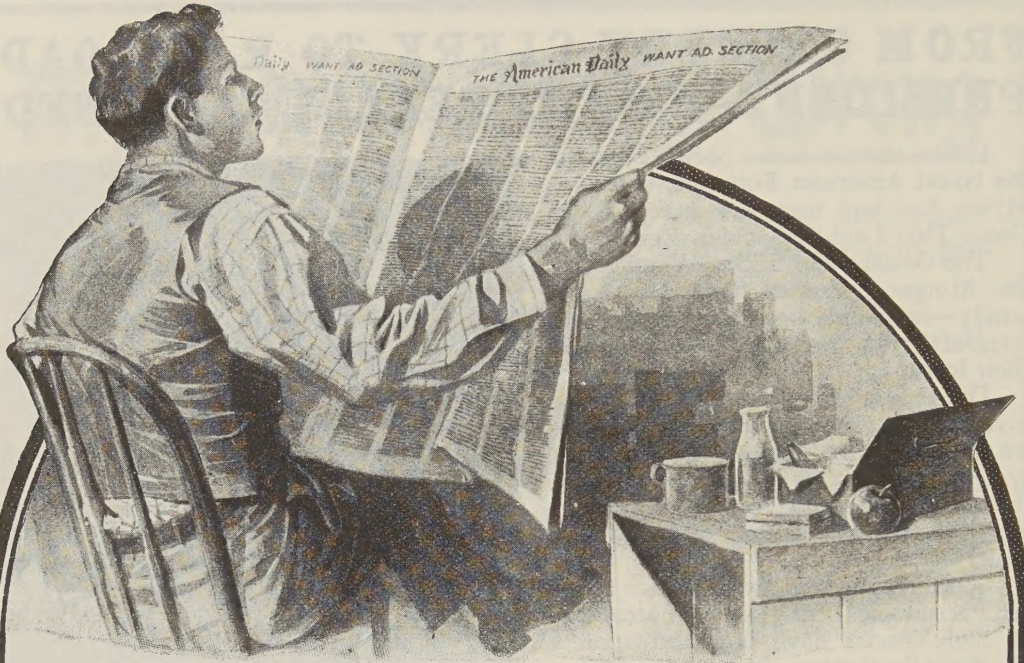
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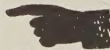
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